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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Former Israeli Intelligence Chiefs on Gulf Crisis

90AE0322B Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew
10 Aug 90 pp 2-3

[Hagay Segal discussion with former heads of military intelligence Yehoshafat Harkabi and Yehoshu'a Sagi']

[Text] Saddam Husayn may be surprised to hear that his military adventure in Kuwait has not had any special effect on the political concepts of Yehoshafat Harkabi and Yehoshu'a Sagi', which have remained as diametrically opposed as they were two weeks ago. The big story in the Gulf is most harmoniously blending with each of their distinct views on our small problem, namely Judaea and Samaria. In short: Professor Harkabi's logic leads him to believe that Saddam will get his punishment, and that will only serve to increase the big powers' desire to establish law and order in the world and to put in their place states with an appetite for territories. Knesset Member Sagi', standing on the opposite side of the abyss, is not at all certain that Saddam will be defeated by the Americans, and even if he is, Israel must not forget the bitter lesson of the Kuwaitis.

Much of the discussion between the two former heads of AMAN [Bureau of Military Intelligence] revolved around the question of how far can the Americans be relied upon to take care of Saddam. Both took into consideration the fact that director George Bush may spoil their script at any time, but they were still willing to take the risk.

[Hagay Segal] Saddam Husayn's behavior fits to a "T" the traditional right-wing claim that Arabs are warmongers, and therefore there is no point in signing agreements with them, because they obviously cannot live at peace among themselves.

[Harkabi] I always warn against attributing certain characteristics to a people. It is nothing but reverse anti-Semitism. The moment you attribute permanent characteristics to a people, there is no alternative but to reopen Auschwitz.

[Sagi'] Saddam Husayn must really not be equated with the other Arabs. The invasion of Kuwait does not necessarily reflect the wishes of the Iraqi nation. At most it represents the will of its sole ruler. On the other hand, we can use his behavior as an indication of what similar regimes in the Arab world may do. By the way, I do not think at all that Saddam is mad. On the contrary, what worries me are his almost systematic endeavors to deal with Iraq's historical and strategic problems. As it turns out, he plans his moves one after the other with chilling deliberation. I very much fear that if Saddam comes out the winner from this latest adventure, he will proceed to solve some additional Iraqi historical and strategic issues, which will have direct implications for us.

[Harkabi] I do not think he will come out the winner. The big powers cannot allow small countries to spoil the peace and quiet that is spreading throughout the world. The United States may stop short of a ground operation against Iraq, but it is certainly capable of hitting him from the air, for example, hitting his power stations. I have never seen a cruise missile close up, but I have been told that it does not miss by more than a few meters. In any case, they will defeat him. The whole world is more united than ever behind the United States in the matter of economic measures, and Saddam will not be able to last for very long. Also, we should not rule out the possibility that he may be confronted by domestic opposition. There have already been rumors that he has executed 100 officers, and that may be a sign of domestic unrest. In other words, there are sufficient reasons to assume that Saddam will have to pay dearly for the invasion of Kuwait.

[Segal] So the whole affair is just a passing episode, and it is therefore too early to draw far-reaching conclusions from it concerning ourselves?

[Harkabi] It is not a passing episode, but I envisage a different scenario than an Iraqi victory in whose wake Iraq may turn its forces against us. Iraq will be defeated, and the instructive lesson of this defeat will be that all the countries, including Israel, will have to behave according to international law or pay a heavy price. I also think that if the Americans take extreme steps against the Iraqis, they will then try to balance that by exercising pressure on us. Therefore, it is difficult to say that the imperative need for a settlement between us and the Palestinians has lost any of its impact as a result of what happened in Kuwait.

[Sagi'] I wish I could be so certain that Saddam Husayn will be totally defeated, and soon. After all, the big powers are rather helpless against this sort of phenomenon like Iraq's territorial occupation. When it comes to using force, they have two alternatives: 1. To stage a ground attack on Iraq, and I do not see how they can build the necessary force for that; 2. To use unconventional weapons, which is not feasible. The United States and the Soviet Union will not use nuclear weapons against Iraq.

[Harkabi] Just a moment, you forgot the air force. The Americans can cause Iraq painful damage by dropping bombs from the air.

[Sagi'] The Iraqi response to this kind of air bombardment may be to set Saudi oil fields on fire with missiles or by a ground attack, and that will cause the West to pressure the United States to ease the pressure on Iraq in order to be spared its rampage and have the calm restored. And I also do not think that Saddam will be easily defeated in the economic area.

[Harkabi] I want to clarify something: for the first time since 1948, the Security Council has decided to impose economic sanctions. Not as a recommendation, but as an order. This means that Saddam is forced to turn off his

taps, because no one is buying his oil. There will be petty thieves who will buy here and there, but there will not be any major purchases, and his economic situation will deteriorate badly as a result.

[Sagi'] You forget that the United Nations decided something in 1947 and quite a few countries ignored it.

[Harkabi] In this case there is an obligatory decision. Since the Americans view the invasion of Kuwait very seriously, it is reasonable to assume that they will go to some length to enforce compliance.

[Sagi'] But, nevertheless, if Saddam manages to come out with the prey between his teeth, the Arab world, including the Palestinians, will significantly harden their positions. The sense that problems may be solved by force will increase at the expense of the idea of political compromise, and we both heard and saw on television that Arab public opinion here is very, very pro-Iraqi. I am pleased to see that Harkabi agrees with me that if Saddam somehow manages to win, that will have serious implications for us. We will be in a different situation.

[Harkabi] A different situation, but not according to your conclusions. Assuming that Iraq is defeated, I repeat, anything that may happen there does not alter the Israeli-Arab conflict in any way. Iraq's defeat will only reinforce the world's opposition to one people's domination of another, so that nothing will change regarding American and European demands that we withdraw from the territories. Let us not forget that Baker has already suggested to us to forget our dreams of a Greater Israel, and stated that the United States fully recognizes the political rights of the Palestinians, something that no other U.S. secretary of state had ever said before...

[Sagi'] ...He also talked about Jerusalem.

[Harkabi] Yes, yes, and that position is not going to change because of Iraq, on the contrary. The world's support for the United States only serves to show that it is not willing to accept the norm of imposing a fait accompli, and the settlements are also a fait accompli. Israel is very vulnerable and cannot stand up to world pressure. When Europe pressured us to remove the label "Israel" from produce from the territories, we tried to resist for one week, then we fell flat on our faces.

[Sagi'] I agree that international demands for withdrawal from Judaea and Samaria will not change because of what happened in the Gulf, but the question is whether we are ignoring the security aspect of the events there. Now it is already clear that no settlement with the Palestinians will resolve our problem with the Saddams of this world. I shiver to think that we may have to fight from the 4 June 1967 borders against Iraq's technological force. I would accept Harkabi's logic in conditions of complete regional peace, but after Kuwait I find it difficult to think of peace as a real possibility in the next 50 years.

[Haga'i Segal] Let us talk about what has already happened. What happened was that a quiet and peaceful state named Kuwait was suddenly attacked one bright morning by an aggressive neighbor.

[Harkabi] Excuse me, but that is nonsense. What do you mean, "happened?" This issue is symptomatic of Israeli perceptions of events at the tactical level, rather than the strategic level. You have not yet won the war because you have won one battle. Israelis have an absurd tendency to appreciate daring and faits accomplis. We do not seem to grasp that daring in the Iraqi style is important only at tactical level. Strategy, on the other hand, means wisdom.

[Haga'i Segal] But, however this story may end, Kuwait has already paid a heavy price. There are hundreds of dead people and an unemployed king, and that sounds very frightening if you substitute Israel in its place.

[Harkabi] Whatever happened there does not change my view of the final settlement of the conflict here, nor the basic fact that we simply cannot stay in the territories. When Baker told us not to settle new immigrants in the West Bank what he meant was that the area does not belong to us and never will.

[Sagi'] The problem was and remains a real problem. A settlement with the Palestinians will not remove the threat of war from us. You do not begin to solve the problem even if you compromise with them on the 1947 borders. It is true that Saddam Husayn is a unique phenomenon, but we have known rulers no less extreme than he is in Iraq. Imagine that we were living after the meeting in Cairo and after elections in the territories, and even after a final settlement—would that have stopped Saddam's moves in the Gulf? No.

[Harkabi] Tell me, you want to be the manager of the world?

[Sagi'] All I want is to survive, that is an old Jewish desire.

[Harkabi] If so, then you can also ask what the guarantee is that Pakistan will not attack us after a final settlement with the Palestinians.

[Sagi'] What you are saying prompts me to ask what you understand by peace?

[Harkabi] I would rather first explain what I view as diplomacy. Diplomacy is the art of achieving agreements that will thwart the evil intentions of the other side. I do not believe in trust among nations, but in world order, and world order is not what you want, but what is acceptable to everyone. We will not achieve all our aspirations and the Palestinians will not achieve all their aspirations, and neither will the Americans or anyone else.

[Sagi'] In any case, "peace" means preempting the threat of war. If I look today to see from what direction we are threatened with war, I see it coming from Syria, Jordan,

and certainly Iraq. On the other hand, there is no threat of war with the Palestinians, since in the present situation they do not have the force to threaten our existence. Nevertheless, you suggest that as we now have the brilliant opportunity of the Persian Gulf, we might as well make peace with the Palestinians, of all sides, with the assumption that the PLO is their sole representative and that if you talk to the PLO, everyone else will talk to you. I think this is a strange view. Allow me to tell you that your arguments are not shared by all the Arabs. You will not hear Saddam Husayn, for example, recognize the principle of two states.

[Harkabi] I actually did hear that from him. He has said maybe twice on television that he will accept any agreement that can be reached between the PLO and Jerusalem. It is true that different Arabs say different things, but the Jews do not always speak in one voice, either.

[Sagi'] In view of the events we see in the Gulf, what is important now is to strengthen our survival capability without having to depend on external factors, because if we were to think in a bit of a Machiavellian fashion we would come to the conclusion that instead of the United States using the means you mentioned against Iraq, it may well try to draw closer to the Iranians, Syrians, and Turks, because the key to real pressure on Iraq is in that pincher area and because the United States wants to keep its hands as clean as possible. Needless to say, any such rapprochement will come at our expense.

[Haga'i Segal] Many Israelis this week recalled the bombing of the nuclear reactor in 1981. What about you?

[Sagi'] The debate on the data has been going on for nine years, so why go over that again.

[Harkabi] That was in your time, and you voted against it.

[Sagi'] Right. The head of Mosad and I voted against it, and everyone else was in favor. If anyone thinks that it could not happen to us today in Dimona, he is wrong. It can happen. By the way, at the time I thought that there was going to be a sharp American reaction against us, and I was wrong. I thought they would react immediately, but the fact is they almost did not react at all.

IDF Measures Against Jordanian Border Incidents

90AE0351A Tel Aviv 'AL-HAMISHMAR in Hebrew
20 Aug 90 p 9

[Article by Avi Benihu]

[Text] Yesterday there was another incident at the Jordanian border. Two Jordanian soldiers dressed in military uniform and armed with personal weapons crossed the Jordanian border and managed to infiltrate Israeli territory near the Adam Bridge north of Jericho. IDF [Israeli Defense Forces] soldiers who spotted their tracks pursued them, found them, and called to them to halt.

The Jordanian answer came in the form of a burst of fire toward our soldiers. The IDF team opened fire on the two, killing one and taking the other prisoner.

The number of such incidents has increased in the past year along the border with Jordan, although greater emphasis is put on them now in view of the situation in Jordan and the fact that the army there is on high alert. IDF figures show that attempts by terrorists and Jordanian soldiers to penetrate and stage attacks in this area have doubled; as a result, current security activities along the long border with Jordan have been seriously tightened, and the topic is certainly keeping army commanders awake at night.

The reasons for this higher incidence of infiltration attempts are multiple: there are among them attempts by terrorists and Jordanian soldiers of Palestinian origin to lend support to and identify with rebelling Palestinians in the West Bank; in some cases, the motive was to avenge a relative or friend killed or injured by the IDF in the course of the intifadah; or attempts by terrorist organizations to stage actions against Israel in this sector, after repeated attempts to infiltrate through the northern border and from the sea failed, etc.

As many as eight infiltration attempts were recorded in the past year alone in the sector of yesterday's incident. In April, a Jordanian soldier was pursued and seized north of Jericho, and there was even a team of terrorists that was caught trying to cross into Israel. Also, as many as 16 mines were laid in the al-Biq'a sector.

What worries defense leaders and IDF commanders most is the increasing involvement of Jordanian soldiers in attempts to infiltrate into and stage attacks in Israel, and it is logical to assume that the Jordanians themselves are no less worried by this phenomenon. The view is that as King Husayn's regime becomes shakier, the number of terrorist attempts from across the Jordan will increase.

Defense sources stressed that in the course of the past year, actually since the elections for the Jordanian Parliament, King Husayn has softened his policy toward the PLO and other Fatah organizations, which are now working from Amman almost without interference. On the one hand, the king chooses to ignore PLO's actions in Amman in order to preempt the spread of the uprising east of the Jordan river, while on the other hand he uses his army to try to combat and foil attempts to infiltrate Israel via the Jordanian border.

Both Israel and Jordan have for years been interested in preserving the calm along their common border, and IDF commanders always pointed with satisfaction to the war of extermination fought by the Jordanian army against terrorists. Recently, however, the Jordanians have been having trouble implementing this policy in spite of Israel's protests and warnings. This situation is also being exploited by the Syrians, who are dispatching teams of terrorists to Jordan belonging to organizations under their protection. Those teams infiltrate from Damascus to Jordan and plan attacks on Israel from

there. A few months ago, for example, the Jordanian army uncovered a team of the Islamic Jihad which had already managed to station Katyusha launchers pointed toward Israeli localities on the other side of the border.

And what are the Jordanians doing? In recent months, on orders of the king they have taken some steps to make infiltration more difficult, such as: paving patrol roads along the border, doubling the number of army posts along that sector, building manned observation towers at each post, laying ambushes both at night and in the daytime, deploying more frequent motorized patrols, removing bushes and thickets along the Jordanian banks, which served as hiding places for terrorists and Jordanian soldiers who escaped from their units and from there opened fire on IDF patrols. Similarly, the Jordanians moved pro-Palestinian army units, that may have turned a blind eye to terrorists movements in the area, to lines further back from the border. IDF sources feel that Jordan is still clearly interested in preserving the peace along the border, but the king's difficulty is, as we said, how to implement this policy.

These days, when tension is mounting in Jordan, when demonstrations of support for the Iraqi ruler are growing, and when a big question mark is hovering over the stability of the regime and the continuation of King Husayn's reign, we must be alert to and prepared for increased infiltration and attack attempts from the Jordanian border.

Recently that area has been paid greater attention by the general staff. Funds have been channeled to it to improve current security conditions, fences, lighting, communication, and control. Similarly, residents of the localities along the border have been involved in current security operations. Exercises are organized to ward against the possibility of terrorist infiltration and mass attacks, and the commanding officers feel that residents will even be capable of defending themselves against prolonged terrorist activities along the border.

Realignment of Middle Eastern States Examined

90AE0261A Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 15 Aug 90
p 10

[Article by Y. Harif]

[Text] The campaign in the Persian Gulf between the U.S. and the western world—in solid cooperation with Egypt and Syria—and Iraq is, as would appear, a glowing testimony to the fact that the Middle East is marching toward a new era.

The participation of the Soviet Union in the American effort to destroy the regime of Saddam Husayn is further testimony to the emergence of a new order in the Middle East.

The rise to glory of Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, the Arab calf which the U.S. was obliged to rein into Washington, should serve as a lesson for the future.

The confidential talks this week between President Bush and the president of Syria, Hafiz al-Asad, also make a followup relevant, in light of the exchanges taking place in the region. It would have been possible to predict such intimate cooperation between Egypt and the U.S., together with Syria, against a third Arab state, Iraq, even a few weeks earlier. And the question that arises in this context is, what will Israel have to do? Will it be paid for, in the end, in Israeli currency in return for preserving this "treaty" between Washington-Egypt and Syria and its nursing?

An examination of the newly emerging situation in the region forces us to honestly look at the global configuration in the wake of perestroika and glasnost, which have leaped beyond the realm of Soviet internal politics, and can even be traced through their foreign policies. It should be remembered that the sharp advisers of the previous American administration, the Reagan administration—which cast the actual contents of the strategic cooperation between the U.S. and Israel—maintained, as did Reagan himself, that the fate of Israel is the "decisive factor that will determine the success or failure of American policy." Israel is the natural ally of the U.S. and the last regional element of deterrence against Soviet expansionist hegemony due to its military strength, its geographical position, and its uncompromising will to defend its interests.

Reagan's basic position in relation to Israel was essentially the result of its general strategic approach. He viewed it as a strategic asset for the U.S., whose interest in the Middle East is to prevent the region from falling under the domination of the USSR and its allies.

This reality no longer exists and, in any case, new evaluations will be made regarding cooperation between the U.S. and Israel. This is not to say that strategic cooperation between them will be terminated. Even today, Washington is clever enough to appreciate the fruits of participation that exist in a number of its essential areas, but the political conclusions are likely to change in light of the participation being marked on the Iraqi front. The disintegration of "Arab unity" appears likely to benefit Israel, which has always sounded a warning against becoming enslaved in western policies for "unity of the Arab world," but, on the other hand, it is liable to encourage the perception that, actually, the division in the Arab world may well serve western interests, and the case of Damascus proves this.

Some of the American perceptions, which molded policies in Washington, have been proven wrong. Thus, for example, it was proven that for the political and material support of the U.S. in Iraq, during the period of the war in Iran and following it, there was no compensation, and Saddam Husayn's Baghdad became the sworn enemy of the U.S. Jordan, in the meanwhile, became a pitiful and unimportant political entity. And everybody was embracing the PLO as the sole element that could contribute to the settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. This perception gave birth to the American

dialogue with the PLO and undermined, to a great extent, relations with Israel. And now the PLO discovers that all of the good that has been influenced by Washington has gone sour, as they are the sworn enemy and the ally of Saddam Husayn and Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi.

It is reasonable to assume that even if the U.S. emerges victorious from the Iraqi front, it will not be able to easily restore the "political process" in the Middle East, all of which rests on dialogue with the PLO, but Israel should not be persuaded to believe that this process will die. At most, it will strip and take on a new form, and it is still unknown whether the "new form" will be more encouraging. It is impossible not to also see the dangers on the horizon. If the international community, all of which stands behind the U.S., emerges from the confrontation with the upper hand, they are likely to feel sure enough of themselves to dictate a solution for other focal points of conflict. A solution, similar to that which is being put into operation in Kuwait, is characterized by imposing a settlement on an isolated state.

If indeed, Syria, and not only Egypt, is worthy of a reward—and at first glance there is no doubt of this—Israel will have a dilemma. The campaign is still on and no one can determine at the outset how it will develop and what the Iraqi dictator, who is fighting for his life, is capable of doing. But, even if Israel is busy with military preparations that perhaps will be forced on them—they are not to be excused from paying heed to the political dangers that lurk ahead of them.

ISRAEL

Impact of Gulf Crisis on Economy Examined

90AE0314B Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew
26 Aug 90 p 10

[Article by Yitzhaq Deutsche]

[Text] The direct costs to the state budget of the Persian Gulf crisis are still not measurable, because it is not clear how the crisis will end. Direct involvement in a war would certainly entail large expenditures for the maintenance of an army, the operation of weapons and vehicles, and, in particular, the wearability of equipment. As long as the main issue is readiness, including selective mobilizations, the financial expenditure will be relatively limited and far from the amount the United States is spending for readiness in the gulf, which, according to media reports, is \$1 billion dollars per day. This sum is exaggerated, but very large sums are certainly involved.

If a reduction in Israeli defense expenditures was taken into account at different stages as a component of a general budgetary cut in the scope of economic recovery programs, it can now be forgotten. We might hope against a request for an increase in defense expenditures, but this too would be in vain, as Defense Minister Moshe Arens has already signalled in this direction.

The direct effect of the crisis that we are already feeling is the increase in oil prices, which has already reached 60-70 percent. However, the increase is more moderate regarding the sources from which Israel procures oil. Israel spends about \$1 billion per annum for fuel, and additional spending is a foregone conclusion. Even if the current situation is unlike the oil crisis in the Yom Kippur War—because the rates of appreciation are different and alternative energy sources have since been developed, the foremost being coal-generated electricity—the increase in the cost of fuel will affect the balance of payments.

Tourism entering Israel has recently flourished, with the number of tourists arriving in Israel during the first seven months of 1990 reaching new peaks. The Persian Gulf crisis is causing a change in this situation: There is a steep decline in the number of tourists arriving in Israel, and many hotel reservations have been cancelled. Naturally, tourists are not expected to stream to a state dealing with the issue of distributing nuclear-biological-chemical protective masks to its population. Only a quick end to the crisis will prevent the loss of hundreds of millions of dollars in revenues.

The fact that the United States is spending vast sums is liable to affect American aid to Israel. These expenditures will result in great pressure to reduce other U.S. allocations, including foreign aid allocations. Moreover, an American commitment could develop to increase aid to other countries in the region in the framework of mutual relations in handling of the crisis. These developments are liable to affect U.S. economic aid to Israel which amounts to \$3 billion annually (\$1.8 billion in military aid and \$1.2 billion in non-defense aid).

The requirements of financing the large wave of immigration from the Soviet Union have given rise to the thought that Israel will receive additional aid from the United States, because Israel's own resources cannot respond to these defined needs. Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i has already announced that he will seek an increase in aid from the United States. However, the American expenditures stemming from the Kuwait crisis are liable to affect Israel's chances of receiving additional U.S. aid. There will be a need to fight hard to preserve the existing aid level of \$3 billion, and an even greater effort will be needed to obtain additional aid to help absorb immigration.

The oil crisis will affect economic activity throughout the world. International bodies estimate that a dramatic world economic slowdown is not expected to result from this crisis, because of the existence of alternative energy sources. The duration of the crisis is what will ultimately be the determining factor regarding such a slowdown. In any case, a world recession would affect Israel's economy, especially inasmuch as the needs of immigration and reducing Israel's high unemployment require an expansion of exports.

In contrast, there is one area in the economy that can profit from the crisis, namely the arms industry. In the climate of detente and the peaceful settlement of conflicts, there has been a decline in demand for defense industry products and in the area of weapons procurement and war implements. In the new situation, the arms industry is expected to experience a resurgence.

The clarification of the defense policy expected to come at the end of the crisis could also affect the economic climate in a positive manner. A forward-looking government should now be thinking about what the aftermath will be, and this needs to be done in an orderly fashion through a special framework.

Yafo Arabs Oppose Iraqi Invasion

90AE0314A Tel Aviv HA'IR in Hebrew 24 Aug 90 p 13

[Remarks by residents and public figures in Yafo, including Yusuf Rayhan and 'Ali Yatim, the chairman and secretary respectively of the Islamic movement in Yafo, by Gadi Blum, in Tel Aviv-Yafo; date not specified]

[Text] A joke circulating in Arab Yafo about the Iraqi tyrant says that the Americans told Saddam Husayn before the invasion to "keep quiet." Saddam, whose English is not perfect, thought they said "keep Kuwait," and he therefore invaded it. This is the typical response of most of the Arabs of Yafo to the crisis in the gulf. Their responses include making jokes, smearing, disassociation, caution, alienation, and even contempt, which present a striking contrast to the mass demonstrations that erupted in the Galilean villages of 'Arrabah, and Sakhnin, in which the Arabs called on Saddam not to hesitate to wage a jihad, telling him that, if necessary, he should not take pity on them, and that he should spray them as well with deadly gas.

On Yefet Street, in a small coffee house, sit 'Ali Yatim, the secretary of the Islamic movement in Yafo, and Yusuf Rayhan, its chairman. These two, who represent 8,000 Muslims among the 12,000 Arabs in Yafo, are the only Arab public figures in Yafo who agreed to speak with us. Rayhan explains his colleagues' lack of responsiveness: "In Yafo, there is twice as much sensitivity as in other places. We are involved with Jews, we are their friends. We are constantly in contact with them, and we also feel a part of them."

[Blum] How does that affect feelings toward Saddam?

[Yatim] It creates confusion. People here have lost their bearings. It is difficult for us to form a position. We do not deny that there is support [for Saddam] among certain groups. However, I think that, overall, the decisive majority opposes the Iraqi aggression.

Yatim and Rayhan treat the behavior of their brethren in the Galilee with raised eyebrows, and they shrug it off. "It is all talk," Yatim remonstrates. "I do not believe

that they want Saddam to attack. These people apparently do not know what gas is and what it is to die from gas. It is easy for them to identify with words and to say that they want to be burned. The moment a member of their families, a father, or a mother dies from this, they will all jump to oppose Saddam. I know them. These people apparently did not listen to the radio during the Iraq-Iraq war. They did not learn how terrible the use of chemical weapons can be."

Yatim and Rayhan feel that they represent the majority of the Arabs of Yafo, because they were elected in democratic elections by members of the Islamic movement, which actually constitutes the entire Muslim population of the city. They disclose that an internal war has been raging in recent days in the Arab sector, and they place themselves on the moderate side, which attacks not only Saddam, but also the behavior of some of the leaders of Israeli Arabs. The actions of Darawishah—who, in the recent elections, received the votes of 450 out of the 1,800 Arab Muslims eligible to vote in Yafo, and who leads support for Saddam Husayn—are received with great anger.

[Yatim] I do not know how many will continue to vote for him. Very few in my opinion.

Darawishah is not the only one for whom Yafo residents will apparently not vote in the coming elections. The Progressive List for Peace and the Democratic Movement for Peace and Equality of RAKAH [New Communist List] are also in trouble. The Islamic movement is almost certain to run for the Knesset, and this perhaps explains the willingness of its representatives to talk with us. "I have no doubt," states Rayhan, "that all Arabs of Yafo will support us. What alternative do they have? The Islamic choice is the only choice that can truly be advantageous. Recently, we even met with [Tel Aviv-Yafo] Mayor Shlomo Lahat, who had refused to meet with us for a long time, claiming us to be extremists. We have also met with him during the gulf crisis."

[Blum] Did you speak with him about this?

[Yatim] He did not mention a word, and we also refrained from speaking about it. We spoke about local matters.

The two emphasize that their community in Yafo has always been a world in itself. They were never symbols of the Arab sector that always work jointly. They did not even agree to join the identification strike initiated not long ago by Arab leaders against the backdrop of the non-receipt of funds from the government and the neglect of the Arab sector. "We in Yafo are independent," states Rayhan, "we do not bow to any dictate. We do what is correct and good for us. We are proud of the fact that our children are rooted in Tel Aviv and go out with Jewish girls. We certainly have no interest in becoming involved in a conflict with you."

The remarks of these two representatives of the Islamic movement sound extremely calming. However, Rayhan

adds a reservation: "The United States did not prove in its handling of the crisis that it is concerned for countries in distress. It only proved that it does what it wants to do. Imagine to yourself that Israel would do something that did not find favor with the Americans. Suddenly, a quarter of a million soldiers surround it. How would you feel? We strongly oppose American involvement in the gulf. I say this for the sake of Israel's long-range defense."

As one who has consulted with Muslim representatives more senior than himself, Rayhan seeks to stress that the loyalty of the Arabs of Yafo is given to the state of Israel, and that emotional support of some of the activities [of Iraq] must be accepted with understanding. "In previous wars, we always behaved with solidarity. We did not cause disturbances or incite, and this will continue to be the case if, God forbid, a war breaks out."

[Blum] At the start of the intifadah, you surprised Tel Aviv residents with an outbreak of violence here in this street.

[Yatim] That is completely false and a lie. False charges are levelled against us without letup. There was a non-violent demonstration of support for which permission was obtained.

[Blum] Rocks were thrown. Is that not violence?

[Yatim] A rock was thrown by a mentally ill person. He has a certificate from a hospital for the mentally ill that certifies his mental illness. It is a pity that he is not here. I could show you the certificate. We heard Shamir on the radio expressing surprise that the Arabs of Yafo threw rocks. We were very hurt. This is not correct. We are opposed to violence.

However, outside the coffee house, the degree to which views differ is striking. In the afternoon in the middle of the week, a broad range of views could be found. People gather in groups and argue. It is very difficult to find a supporter of Saddam in Arab Yafo who declares his support to the press for attribution. Such persons prefer to shrink and conceal their faces from the camera lenses. In the Galilee, Saddam's supporters are a popular majority that is proud of its support. In Yafo, they are a minority, and they are even wary of their friends.

A young supporter of Saddam, who works in a Tel Aviv bar, is willing to justify himself. He compares the Israeli Arabs to a young woman.

Why a young woman?

Because a young girl must choose between men. She cannot be the mate of two men at the same time. She will always be more faithful to one of them—either to the Israelis or to the Palestinians. It is impossible to be faithful to both of them at the same time. Here in Yafo, a large segment of the population likes the Israelis. Whoever supports Saddam does not talk about it. Such people do not want to incite anger, but they nonetheless support Saddam. It is impossible to change this. It is internal.

Najib Hawri, 28, the owner of a large Mini-Market, does not want to express an opinion. Ahmad Qasim, a green grocer in his fifties, initially says that he has no opinion. Later, he says that he cannot express it, because his wife is Jewish. Antoine Hananiyah, 55, a garage owner, expresses support of the Israeli-Jewish interest.

Behind Hananiyah's garage, in a dark room filled with soot-covered tires, are the possessions of Yusuf Bonos Ilyas, who is in his twenties and the son a Jewish mother and Arab father. According to Bonos, his father threw him out of the house without a cent. Only his possessions are at the garage. At night, he wanders in the streets, searching for a car in which to sleep. "Poor fellow," states Hananiyah. "Where is Saddam and where is he? There are many like him here."

[Bonos] In the morning, when I wake up and get out of the car, I begin to run in the streets, asking people for food. Some give it to me.

[Blum] What do you say about Saddam?

[Bonos] Saddam is of no interest to anyone here. I am in the street the entire day and people here do not care about him. They have their own problems up to the sky. There is no food. Who will help me? Who?

[Hananiyah] He is actually right. Who cares about Saddam here? People only pray that the tourists will continue to come and will not be afraid of a bomb. The decline in tourism and fear of war are already being felt here. We are certainly afraid. Who needs this?

Indeed, from conversations with Arabs in Yafo, it becomes clear that Saddam, Kuwait, Bush, Darawishah, 'Aqabah, hostages, and gas masks are not really of prime concern to residents. Many are fighting to survive amid a feeling of deep deprivation. They feel that living room conversations about Saddam are a luxury of the Jews in Tel Aviv.

Attorney Nasim Shakir, a leader of the 4,000 Christians in Yafo, failed to mobilize the steering committee of the city, which is responsible for the refurbishment of neighborhoods, to express itself on the matter. Shakir acknowledges: "This does not interest them very much. The truth is that they feel aversion to this entire matter and to dealing with it. We in Yafo do not manage the world. The reconstruction of neighborhoods is more important to us."

This is also the case with Yatim and Rayhan of the Islamic movement, who, after explaining with deep seriousness their world view regarding Saddam and Yafo, acknowledge in a moment of truth that the overall desire of Yafo residents is to get through the month, and that they are contending daily with problems that are far more difficult than the problem of their identity.

Rayhan irately discloses another factor that reduces their interest in what is happening: "Out of the 8,000 persons whom I represent, more than a quarter, perhaps a third, are drug addicts. While you and I are talking about Iraq,

3,000 persons in Yafo are looking for a dose. They are suffering. Their families are suffering. Do they care about Saddam? They want a father who is free of drugs."

As if by prearrangement, a dejected-looking person passes, moving like one possessed by madness. "Here is one of them," says Yatim. This is Halaf Mahmud, who is standing in the middle of the road and erupting in front of a growing gathering of Arabs who express agreement with him. "I had two businesses here" he laments. "I was a vegetable seller with large daily proceeds. Today, I am strongly into heroin. I have no television. I have five wretched children whom I cannot help. There are many Arabs like me in Yafo."

[Blum] And Saddam?

[Mahmud] We do not care about him. I wish the police and the Border Police would get off me. Every evening, at 10:00, they hit me. I love the state, I am for the Jews, but let them leave me in peace.

Sixty-five percent of the Arabs of Yafo are under the age of 18. The young people are much more reserved than the adults. They refused to be photographed or interviewed. Rafi Dalal, 19 and a half, feels that he expresses the opinion of the majority of the Arab youths in Yafo. He talks like a Jewish rightist for all intents and purposes. "I am not afraid of the Iraqis. It is not worthwhile for them to lift a finger against us. Iraq would be destroyed in seconds. It would receive a blow ten times greater."

[Blum] What about the rest of the Arabs in the Galilee who are talking in Saddam's favor?

[Dalal] They are primitive. I have no connection with them. My friends are from Tel Aviv and from Bat-Yam. Jews. I am involved in society.

[Blum] How many others like you are there in Yafo?

[Dalal] There are many like me. All of my friends are as such. However, here too in Yafo, inside, there are several primitive people. They do not interest me. I do not care what they think.

[Blum] And if there is a war? [Dalal] If necessary, I would help the Jews. Certainly.

Mahmid Muhammad, 69, has no children and is not in touch with youths. "Saddam opened the entire matter," he says as he stands in the door of his nut shop. "It will no longer be like it was for many years. He opened the bottle."

[Blum] Do others here think as you?

[Muhammad] We say that he will perhaps manage to bring peace to the entire world. I believe in my heart that war will not stem from him, only peace.

Attorney Shakir says that a large segment of the Arabs in Yafo were very happy initially when Saddam entered Kuwait. "In Yafo, people want to see a light at the end of

the tunnel, not only for the Palestinians, but also regarding the struggle for equality with the Jewish residents of Tel Aviv. So it was clear that there was an emotional outpouring from the residents, and a large segment of them were happy, even if this is illogical."

[Blum] Are you afraid of a chemical attack?

The falling of a missile carrying a chemical warhead on Tel Aviv-Yafo seems to me a surrealistic vision. I cannot comprehend it otherwise. This is also the case with the rest of the Arabs here.

[Blum] Do you think that he will be careful not to hit Yafo?

[Shakir] That is exactly the point. I am convinced that if he attacks he will spare neither Arab Yafo, me, nor the rest of the Arabs here. He will strike us as he strikes everyone. I do not think that he knows at all that an Arab community exists here, nor do I think that it would interest him. If this man comes here, I do not think that we, as Arabs, could rely on him. Whoever thinks that Saddam would give freedom of action to the Palestinians is wrong. He would never give 'Arafat a free hand.

[Yatim] Even if some in Yafo were happy initially, they are now catching themselves and understanding that they made a mistake.

Lt General Discusses Satellite Program

90AE0269A Tel Aviv BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR
in Hebrew Jul 90 p 68

[Interview with Lt. General, Deputy Minister of Iraqi Military Industry and Manufacture: "The Iraqi Satellite Is Ready"; date and place not given]

[Text] [BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] How was the idea conceived of launching satellites into space?

[Lieutenant General] The idea to prepare and launch the al-'Abid satellite system began a short while before the cease-fire between Iraq and Iran, after war conditions required us to expand our military capabilities in general, and everything having to do with the development of missiles in particular. We succeeded, with the means that were at our disposal then, in accomplishing that. The main goal was to defend the territory and people of Iraq from any aggression.

After the cease-fire went into effect, we directed the people responsible for the missile industry to find a more advanced rocket system, with greater power, that could carry additional payloads, in order to place satellites into outer space.

One more step remained for us, without which the project was impossible—the satellite itself. In that area, I happily want to say that the Iraqi satellite is ready, and that all stages in its design and manufacture were accomplished by Iraqi hands.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] There have been reports that China and other countries supplied technological assistance to Iraq in order to bring about the success of the great space project.

[Lieutenant General] We absolutely deny that and rail against anyone who says he provided any assistance whatever to Iraq. Every time we achieve a great scientific-military success, the West thinks it too big an accomplishment for our capabilities.

I want to note that in the beginning we sought that kind of help, only to find out that all the doors were barred to us. Even if we had gotten assistance, it would have been limited and we would not have achieved everything we needed. We therefore based ourselves on our own scientific capability and our own financial resources.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] Among the reactions provoked by publication of the 'Al 'Abd launch was that of the U.S. that America might intervene to cause the failure of the Iraqi missile project since it would undermine the strategic balance and threaten security and stability in the region.

[Lieutenant General] To my great sorrow, the American reaction was emotional and ill-considered. What balance are they talking about? Who began to introduce this type of weaponry into the Middle East arena? Iraq or Israel? The U.S. knows very well that Israel is the one who started it by introducing long-range missiles into the area and pioneered in the launch of a satellite.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] One of the fallouts resulting from the launch of the 'Al 'Abd system was the deep concern this accomplishment caused in Israel. Do you really expect Israeli aggression aimed at destroying that accomplishment, and how do you intend to prevent it?

[Lieutenant General] One of the main goals of the Israeli enemy is to frustrate any spark that might lead to the advance of Iraq in particular and of the Arab states in general. Thus far we have heard no threats or direct Israeli pronouncements against Iraq, but we are alert and ready to preempt any aggressive step against us.

President Saddam Husayn made that clear in the his celebration speech marking 69 years of the Iraqi army. The president said in his speech that any Israeli attempt to strike at the scientific accomplishments of Iraq would merit a counter-reaction by all the weapons at our disposal, in accordance with the principle of self-defense.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] The 'al 'Anbar base had the honor of hosting the launch of the first Arab-Iraqi rocket system into outer space. Could you provide a general overview of that base and the technical particulars associated with the 'al 'Abd system?

[Lieutenant General] The 'al 'Anbar base is a civilian site for launching rocket systems. Its location is known, and it includes installations in which the systems and their contents are connected to the launch pad. It also includes

the requisite tools for tracking the trajectory of the rocket systems. It is a complete space station, in which they also assemble the rocket systems.

The 'al 'Abd system is composed of three main stages, and its overall weight is 48 tons. Its length is 43 meters, and the thrust of the first stage engines is 70 tons. The thrust of the second and third stages is less, and it can carry satellites or warheads.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] To what extent did the war drive Iraqi military production?

[Lieutenant General] The decision to set up the military industrial infrastructure was made back in 1972. A year later an industrial consortium was established to manufacture various kinds of weaponry and conventional ammunition. Training centers were established alongside it, intended to train the manpower required for administering and operating these industries. The establishment of the industrial consortia was completed during the course of the war and began to really bear fruit over the last two years. In 1987 we witnessed a big development in military industrialization, and that was the year practical production began.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] What's the story behind the advanced interceptor 'Adnan-1?

[Lieutenant General] There was an urgent need for electronic intelligence to eavesdrop on the enemy's important conversations. We reached the conclusion that the best way to accomplish electronic intelligence is to send a plane up to certain altitudes. That way we can eavesdrop on the enemy, translate, break codes and quickly pass the information to the various units.

The Minister of Military Industry and Manufacture proposed finding a search radar for moving ground targets, similar to the AWACS system. To that end we retrofitted one of the ground radars produced by a French firm and installed it on an Ilyushin at the bottom of the plane's belly. In place of the rear door we put in a fiberglass dome.

It was operated during the course of the war, and after its success the Minister proposed finding a radar that could search over 360 degrees and not just 270 degrees. At first we thought we would not be able to accomplish that, but we started out by setting up joint work groups. In the end we got to the manufacture of plates fitted to the plane, including a radar covered with plastic, not metal, so that the radar waves would be able to pass through it, and we were successful.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] It was reported recently that Iraq has started negotiations with France and the USSR on setting up a plant for military aircraft assembly, like the Mirage 2000, the Alpha Jet and the Mig-29. To what extent are those reports true?

[Lieutenant General] Iraq is intent on manufacturing certain planes, not assembling them, because assembly alone will not result in the development of the Iraqi Air

Force. Steps have already been taken to carry out the program by contacting several countries and choosing certain types of planes in order to begin the manufacture of an advanced, reliable plane. We will not depend on aid from this or that country in accomplishing the project. We have already begun to decide where parts of the project will be carried out, such as engine manufacture and maintenance.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] The media have reported the existence of a joint Iraqi-Egyptian-Argentinian project for the manufacture of a missile named the Condor. Could you clarify at what stage this project stands?

[Lieutenant General] I want to stress that this is an invention of the Western media. There is no joint project involving those three countries. More than that, our missile technology is better than Argentina's. We produced a missile with a range of thousands of kilometers.

Obviously we would not look for assistance from a country the range of whose missiles does not exceed 200 km.

[BITA'ON HEYL HA'AVIR] In the past Iraq succeeded in making giant strides in setting up a nuclear reactor. Israel destroyed it. What has Iraq done in this area since then?

[Lieutenant General] Iraq is a signatory of the pact against the use of nuclear energy for military purposes. The Iraqi reactor that was set up in cooperation with France was subject to inspections and checks by the world organizations and institutions involved with atomic energy. All the reports made it clear that the purpose for the establishment of the reactor and the experiments conducted in it were for civilian purposes such as agriculture and health. After Israel destroyed it, we did not rebuild it.

BANGLADESH

Ershad Inaugurates Country's Largest Dam

91AS0017A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 6 Aug 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Dalia (Rangpur), 5 Aug—President Ershad today opened the country's biggest barrage over the river Teesta with a call to the nation to rise above self-interest and work unitedly to build the country, reports UNB [UNITED NEWS OF BANGLADESH].

"This project will remain as a shining example of development-oriented politics of my government," the President said. "We will have to sink all the differences and work shoulder to shoulder for achieving the national goal."

The Teesta Barrage, constructed at a cost of Tk [Taka] 1500 crore at Dalia, is six miles off the Indo-Bangladesh border. The inaugural function held in bright shiny weather was attended by cabinet members, diplomats and senior civil and military officials.

BSS [BANGLADESH NEWS AGENCY] adds: President Ershad said the barrage, the largest in the country, would facilitate supply of irrigation water to 33 upazilas of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Bogra, Nilphamari, Joypurhat, Galibandha and Lalmonirhat districts to augment further the agriculture production in the entire region.

The President said the idea of the barrage, the hope for millions of people in the region to build their fortunes, was conceived in 1945 during the British rule but could not be constructed so far.

Describing the inauguration of the barrage as yet another success of the Jatiya Party government the President said the heavy concrete pillars of the 2,018 feet long barrage represented the firm determination of the Government.

With this determination, he said, the Government with firm faith in Allah, would continue to materialise the hopes and aspirations of the masses and continue to face challenges to promote people's welfare in the future.

President Ershad said during the last eight years his Government constructed 506 bridges and 1,700 kilometers [of] roads.

He reiterated the Government's determination to construct Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge and the Meghna Bridge.

He said the Teesta Barrage had become a blessing for the country with 44 gates capable of discharging in 8,000 cusecs of water. The full commissioning of the barrage which is expected to be completed in 1994-95, was designed and constructed entirely by the country's engineers. The country will get additional 15 lakh metric tons of food which will meet half of the country's food deficit, he said.

President Ershad said when the Teesta Barrage project would be fully commissioned it would prevent flood in 2 lakh 33,000 acres while a total 16 lakh 35,000 acres would be brought under irrigation network. Besides water will be discharged from 15 lakh 12,000 acres water-logged land, he added.

President Ershad said 40 percent of rural areas had been brought under rural electrification network while another 50 percent was expected to be completed by the next five years.

This, he said, would help achieve the target of self-sufficiency in food by the year 1992.

Referring to the barrage which would supply water for irrigation to 33 upazilas of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Bogra, Nilphamari, Gaibandha, Joypurhat and Lalmonirhat districts the President remarked that any hard task could be accomplished if people were united and the will-to-do the job was there. He congratulated the engineers and other relevant people who worked hard to complete the project on schedule.

Speaking on the occasion Irrigation Minister Golam Mostafa said the barrage on the River Teesta was the product of relentless efforts of President Ershad who took personal initiative for it. The Minister said without the active initiative of President Ershad and his government the project, which was started during the British rule could not be commissioned.

He said in the first phase Taka 225 crore was spent out of the total cost of Taka 1500 crore. He said the project which is divided into two parts would be fully commissioned in 1994-95.

Under this project a total of 540,000-hectare of land in seven districts would come under irrigation in the winter season and would save a huge area of the northern region from recurring floods. Besides, he said, the project would help produce additional 15 lakh metric tons of rice and 1.5 lakh metric tons of wheat.

Mr B. M. Abbas recalled his association with the project just after the partition of India and expressed happiness to be able to attend its inauguration. He said it would have not be possible to accomplish this task without the leadership of President Ershad and his Government.

Vice President Moudud Ahmed, Prime Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed, Deputy Prime Minister Shah Moazzem Hossain, all the members of the Council of Ministers were present at the inauguration function. Besides, Chief of Army Staff Lt General M. Atiqur Rahman, Chief of Air Staff Air Vice Marshal Momtajuddin Ahmed and other high civil and military officials were present.

INDIA

Outlines Indian Policy on Gulf Situation

91AS0045A Madras THE HINDU in English
19 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by K. K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 18. India's stand on the Gulf events, as outlined by the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh today, has three elements—opposition to the use of force in relations between States, support to the U.N. response and disapproval of a unilateral action, not mandated by the world body.

Addressing a luncheon meeting of the Indian Association of Foreign Affairs Correspondents, Mr Singh said that though India did not contemplate a mediator's role, it was deeply interested in defusing the present situation. That was because a de-stabilized West Asia meant a lot to New Delhi—because there are some two lakh Indians in Kuwait and Iraq and also because 40 percent of India's imports are from these areas.

The hour-long session with Mr Singh covered major topical foreign policy issues—apart from the Gulf, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and India's relations with China.

It was clear from Mr Singh's enunciation that India was opposed to the use of force by Iraq in occupying Kuwait, that it accepted the U.N. Security Council resolution imposing sanctions against Iraq but was opposed to the U.S. moves for blockade of Iraq.

Collective action: "Our perception is there has to be a collective action at the U.N. That is the forum we have to look for a solution", he said, stressing the need for building upon world opinion on these lines. As he saw it, the blockade (of the type launched by the U.S.) was not covered by the Security Council decision.

There was no question of India diluting its opposition to the use of force in inter-State relations (in the context of Iraq's attack on Kuwait). What about India's attitude on the Iraqi President, Mr Saddam Husayn's stand on linking the withdrawal from Kuwait with a pullout by Israelis from the Palestinian areas? India had always supported the Palestinian cause and their demand for a homeland, he said, without dealing with the linkage of Mr Husayn.

Will not Pakistan's decision to send an army contingent to Saudi Arabia to join the American troops help it regain its status as a frontline State in Washington's eyes and to get larger quantities of arms from the U.S. and, thus, create fresh problems for India? According to Mr Singh, it was too early to make an assessment in the light of the total situation, including the changing trends in Afghanistan (which could deprive Pakistan of some of its earlier leverage with the Americans). In any case, he said Pakistan was already getting U.S. arms and might get some more. Yes, it may become a frontline state but

when it will be the own-line State?—he asked. He was not sure as to how many troops, it would actually send to Saudi Arabia.

He did not accept the suggestion that the Gulf crisis had revealed the irrelevance of the Non-aligned Movement [NAM]. He ascribed the delay in the NAM reaction to the swiftness with which events moved in the Gulf, to the utter surprise of its members. He referred to another dimension of the issue—the countries involved, Iraq and Kuwait, were members of the NAM. In view of suddenness of the impact of the fast-moving events, the Non-aligned members, he said, announced their decision to go along with the Security Council resolution. "It does not mean", according to him, "that we are putting a Non-aligned response on the shelf. This possibility can be explored when everyone collects". On the return from abroad of the External Affairs Minister, Mr I. K. Gujral, India could examine the form of a possible initiative by the Non-aligned.

Not an overreaction: Mr Singh disagreed with the critics that the Government had not done enough for the Indians in Kuwait. Nor, according to him, was it a case of over-reaction. In support of the Government's anxiety about the welfare and security of Indians in Kuwait, he cited the decision to send two senior Ministers to the Gulf region, Mr Gujral, who was expected to be in Baghdad today, and the Civil Aviation Minister, Mr Arif Mohammed Khan, who was in the region, assessing the requirements of extra Air India flights, ships and other logistical problems.

Dealing with the other dimension of the issue, he said the Government would not like to create panic. The Indians in Kuwait contributed to the economy of that country and India and it was in the interest of all concerned that confidence was created. At the same time, he was conscious that any Indian in any part of the world, needing New Delhi's help should not feel stranded. India was exploring the possibility of alternative sources for crude oil supplies.

Also, he confirmed contacts with other countries, such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, which too would be hit hard by the Iraq sanctions for making use of the provisions in the Charter—(that any country confronted with special economic problems arising from U.N.'s enforcement measures "shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems").

Papers Report on V.P. Singh Visit to Punjab**PM to Seek Solution In Punjab Villages**

91AS0049A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
20 Aug 90 pp 1, 5

[Text] Lopoke, Aug 19—The Prime Minister will undertake a week-long "padayatra" in Punjab after the current monsoon session of Parliament in a "sincere effort" to restore peace and normal conditions in the troubled

State. Mr V. P. Singh made this announcement while addressing a thinly-attended public meeting at this border village near Amritsar.

In an emotional speech, the Prime Minister said: "The Punjab problem can't be solved by sitting in Delhi. The solution will be found in the villages of Punjab".

The Prime Minister sounded confident that he would be able to win the trust of the people of Punjab during his week-long padayatra of the State.

Mr V. P. Singh made effective use of his powerful Hindi vocabulary to captivate the audience, which was outnumbered by the security personnel. Occasionally, the Prime Minister did succeed in rousing the people, who clapped and cheered in response to some of his observations on the Punjab problem. This was the Prime Minister's third visit to Amritsar after the National Front Government took over last December.

Before addressing the public meeting, the Prime Minister visited the Ramkot border outpost and talked to senior officers of the Border Security Force [BSF]. Mr Parkash Chand, Additional Director-General of the BSF, briefed the Prime Minister on the role of Pakistan in aiding the Khalistani terrorists from across the border. Mr Chand told the Prime Minister that in all, there were 31 training camps for Khalistani terrorists in Pakistan.

The Prime Minister said today that a crash programme was being launched to complete the fencing work along the Indo-Pak border so as to check infiltration and inflow of arms into India, add PTI and UNI from Amritsar.

Talking to reporters at the Raja Sansi airport here after his visit to the border outposts of Raniana and Ramkot. The Prime Minister said that the details of the programme would be made known in a day or two.

The Prime Minister said that peace in Punjab continued to be among the top priorities of his Government, and he would call an all-party meeting soon to take stock of the situation in Punjab. He said the meeting would decide on whether the atmosphere in Punjab was conducive to holding Assembly elections. The date for the meeting would be finalized by the Home Minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, after consulting leaders of various parties.

Asked whether the Government's allies, the Left parties and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], were creating hurdles in solving the Punjab problem, the Prime Minister said, "We are consulting them".

Like the State Governor, would the Center too apologize for Operation Blue Star? the Prime Minister was asked. He said it was for the previous regime to explain.

When asked to comment on the Akali Dal (M) president, Mr Simranjit Singh Mann's allegation that the Center

had gone back on all its promises made to him to restore peace, Mr Singh said, "I talk to the people, and they know what I have done".

He cited measures like the repeal of the 59th Constitution Amendment, release of hundreds of youths against whom there was no concrete evidence, rehabilitation of Army deserters and setting up of special courts for the trial of those involved in the November 1984 riots, all of which, he said, were taken by his Government to create a feeling of security among the Sikhs.

Earlier, talking to reporters on his way to Amritsar, the Prime Minister said countries in the Indian subcontinent should try to join hands with the European Economic Community and break economic barriers.

Neighbors could work for mutual benefit, the Prime Minister, explaining that India, for instance, could supply Pakistan with several items like iron ore, which it was now importing from distant countries.

The Prime Minister said the nation should look towards the future. "If Iran and Iraq, who fought a bitter war for eight years, could bury the hatchet, why can't India and Pakistan do so?" he asked.

More Details Given

91AS0049B Madras THE HINDU in English
20 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Lopoke (Punjab), Aug 19. The Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh today said here he would begin a week-long "padayatra" of Punjab villages soon after the current session of Parliament ended "to win the hearts of the State people with love."

Addressing a rural gathering in this border town, he said he was not bothered about his security "since I consider the love of the people as my greatest security." "Either I will return with love of Punjab people or if I am killed my body should be kept here in Punjab," he said in an emotionally choked voice.

Mr Singh said he visited the Golden Temple shortly after taking over as Prime Minister in December last with the aim to pray for peace and to do something for the people whose feeling were hurt in the past happening but he felt that he had not succeeded to the extent desired to win over the people.

He reiterated his determination to continue with his mission and said he would succeed one day.

Later, while speaking to newsmen at the Rajasansi airport at Amritsar the Prime Minister parried questions about the demand that the government should tender apology in Parliament over Operation Bluestar. "I think the previous Government should say something on it," he said.

The Prime Minister said the all-party meeting to be held at New Delhi next week would discuss holding elections in Punjab besides discussing the prevailing situation.

Before returning to New Delhi after a day's visit to the border area, he said all the political parties, including Akali Dals, would be called for the meeting. A date would be decided in consultation with the leaders of different parties, he said.

Jobs for one lakh youth: The Prime Minister said one lakh Punjab youth would be given jobs to end employment problem. He accepted the demand of the people of the area for opening of a sugar mill and setting up of an ITI [Industrial Training Institute] at some appropriate place near the border.

The Prime Minister said the Government would like to win over disgruntled youth with love but they would have to snap their links with the elements operating from across the border.

Asked whether his Government was willing to talk to militants, he said he could hold talks with anyone who stood for India.

He said this time he had decided to visit the countryside as he felt that the Punjab problem could not be solved by sitting in Delhi or going through the files. "I want to go to the people for solution," he said.

He expressed his gratitude to the Punjab people for sacrifices made during the past. He described them as "shan" (glory) of India.

Referring to the measures taken to remove the irritants among Sikhs, he said the 59th Amendment was taken back immediately after the National Front Government came to power, special courts were set up to try culprits for the 1984 riots. Army deserters were rehabilitated and widows were given increased monthly allowances. "These steps were taken to assuage the feelings of Sikhs," he said.

Asked whether Government allies, the Left parties and BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] were creating hurdles in solving the Punjab problem the Prime Minister said, "we are consulting them."

When asked to comment on the Akali Dal(M) president, Mr Simranjit Singh Mann's allegation that the Center had gone back on all its promises made to him to restore peace, Mr Singh said, "I talk to people and they know what I have done."

He parried a question about the possibility of revival of the Punjab Assembly as it was a "sub judice matter." He said the sacked Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Devi Lal, "is a respected leader of our party."

Fencing along border: Mr Singh said a crash programme was being launched to complete the fencing work along the Indo-Pak border so as to check infiltration and inflow of arms into India. He said the details of the programme would be made known in a day or two.

Earlier, Mr V. P. Singh accompanied by the Minister of State for Home, Mr Subodh Kant Sahay, and the Minister of State for Programme Implementation and Planning, Mr B. Goverdhan visited the Ramkot border outpost in Ranian sector of the Amritsar border where he was briefed by senior BSF [Border Security Force] officers about the activities of the smugglers and terrorists in the area.

Mr Singh saw for himself through binoculars the border, the ongoing activities across the border and the Indian fencing along border.

Later, complementing the BSF jawans at the border post, the Prime Minister said they were not alone in fighting for the defence of territory but the whole country was standing behind them.

The Prime Minister's motorcade stopped at a number of places on way to the border areas.

He stepped out of his car to listen to the people's problems. After listening to them the Prime Minister directed the State Chief Secretary to take up their grievances at the earliest.—PTI, UNI

V.P. Singh on Response to Pakistani 'Provocations'

91AS0048A Madras THE HINDU in English
22 Aug 90 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Prime Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, has said that the country's response to Pakistani provocations will be a "well graded one." In a balanced statement, Mr Singh emphasized the country's determination to counter any aggressive designs by Pakistani forces while ensuring that the dialogue initiated with the Government of Pakistan continued 'in the long term interests of the country'.

"I don't want to sound complacent and at the same time I don't want to raise undue alarm. The incidents should not be multiplied nor minimized," he said while responding to queries on a statement made by him to both Houses of Parliament on the incident of Pakistani firing in the Kupwara sector in the Rajya Sabha today.

'No Cause for Concern'

The Prime Minister emphasized in his remarks as well as in his prepared statement read out in the Lok Sabha earlier that the Directors General of Military Operations were in touch with each other and "there is no cause for any undue concern since we trust that these localized incidents will be contained and the situation defused." In this context, he said, it was not yet necessary to take up the issue at the level of the Foreign Ministries of the two countries.

Responding to a comment by a Shiv Sena member, the Prime Minister said if the tone of the statement was

subdued, "it is subdued but firm and that is how a strong country should respond." Mr Singh emphasized through his 30 minute reply to members' questions that the country should however not lose sight of the long-term goal of having good relations with Pakistan.

Paying tribute to the armed forces and intelligence agencies, he said that they were on the fullest alert and confident of repelling any intrusion. Providing details, he said that some 586 militants had been arrested and 225 killed while trying to cross the Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir.

Mr Singh cautioned that talking of 'total war' or a warlike situation prevailing would be reading too much into the situation. He shared the opinion of Lt Gen (Rtd) J.S. Aurora that the Pakistani shelling on August 20 may be a result of some local commander attempting to regain the area that had been taken by the Indian forces on August 12. The firing by 120mm and 81mm mortars was not accompanied by any physical intrusion, he said.

Details of Incidents

Providing details of the incidents that have occurred, Mr Singh said in the Machhal sub-sector of the Kupwara sector opposite the village Kel in Pakistan occupied Kashmir, our troops noticed an intrusion into Indian territory. On August 12, steps were taken to remove this intrusion and 12 structures constructed by the Pakistani forces 200 to 300 yards inside Indian territory were demolished. There were no casualties on the Indian side while no accurate estimate of casualties on the other side were available though presumably those inside the structures must have suffered some hits.

The Pakistani army attempted to interfere with this action using heavy weapons such as mortars and artillery. After a lull, the Pakistan forces commenced artillery fire at a number of our posts in the Machhal area on August 20 and our troops in the area retaliated. 'The exchange of fire is continuing, confined to this subsector.' Mr Singh said the time taken by the Indian Army to clear the intrusion was the time required by tactical considerations.

Mr Singh said incidents had occurred across the Line of Control for many years. This was not unusual. However this time the Pakistani forces had used heavy artillery and our response was 'equally graded and to effect.' He said the message had gone clearly to Pakistan that while India did not bear it any aggressive designs they could not take us by surprise. 'That is good enough,' he said.

Responding to charges by Mr M.L. Fotedar and other Congress(I) members, The Prime Minister refuted the charge that the discussions at the last round of talks between the Indian and Pakistani Foreign Secretaries were 'abusive.' He said in a dialogue there was often a situation where both sides used strong words to express their points of view. However reports that abusive language was used may have been picked up at the 'later half of the cocktail party'. Mr Fotedar had charged that the

story about the language used by the Pakistani Foreign Secretary had been doing the rounds of the cocktail circuit. Earlier Mr Singh had intervened to say 'it's a cock and bull story.'

V.P. Singh Makes Statement on Sri Lanka

91AS0037A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
28 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal; words in boldface as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 27 August—Expressing deep concern at the sharp escalation of conflict in Sri Lanka, the Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, today appealed for an immediate end to hostilities in the island and return to negotiations.

A durable solution to the ethnic conflict could not be found by military means or violence, the Prime Minister said in a statement. It was possible, according to him, only through a dialogue for meeting legitimate Tamil aspirations and concerns within the framework of Sri Lanka's unity and integrity.

What worried Mr Singh were the reports of indiscriminate attacks on heavily populated civilian areas, causing civilian casualties, rendering thousands homeless and the fall-out in India. The flow of refugees from Sri Lanka into Tamil Nadu "had increased and is placing a heavy burden on us," he said. While the Government and the people of Tamil Nadu had done a commendable job in providing shelter for the refugees, the Prime Minister wanted Colombo to take urgent steps to stem their inflow.

The Prime Minister's statement was in keeping with New Delhi's oft-stated position that its non-interference in Sri Lanka's internal affairs should not be misconstrued as lack of concern for the Tamil people and that this point would be driven home through diplomatic pressure.

Rise in refugee influx: There is a sudden increase in the influx of refugees, of late, their total about to cross one lakh. India had suggested the establishment of a refugee camp in the island with international help (with New Delhi promising to contribute its might), and Sri Lanka had responded positively. But the idea has been a non-starter. Whether the Sri Lankan Government took any concrete step was not clear. The LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] announced its opposition to the move.

Papers Report V.P. Singh National Day Speech

Summary of Speech

91AS0041A New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
16 Aug 90 p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Prime Minister V. P. Singh on Tuesday called upon the people to remain prepared for any eventuality

in view of the dangers from across the border, adding that the fight would be taken to the streets for the country's defence.

In his maiden address to the nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the 44th Independence Day, Mr Singh said separatism and violence in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam posed a serious threat to the country's integrity and asked the people to reinforce the Government's efforts in combating them.

The Prime Minister announced that the 1990s would be observed as the 'Kisan Decade' (Decade of Farmers) and said a national agricultural policy would be introduced this year.

Mr Singh also announced that the birthday of Prophet Muhammad would be observed as a holiday. He expected an amicable settlement of the Ram Janmbhoomi-Babri Masjid issue and reiterated that the court verdict would be fully honored.

In his 75-minute address, perhaps the longest from the rampart of the Red Fort, Mr Singh admitted that the price rise had hit the working class people hard. He asserted that the hoarders and black-marketeers would be dealt with sternly, however he attributed reasons for the price rise to budget deficit and inflation.

Defending the Government decision on job reservation for the socially and educationally backward classes, the Prime Minister said the backward classes constituted 52 percent of the country's population but had only 14.5 percent share in Government jobs and that too was as low as 4.5 percent in class one services.

The imbalance, he said had to be corrected to give this section a due share in power structure. Referring to the anti-reservation stir, he appealed to the youth to look upon the Government's decision in right perspective. Instead of caring for their individual career alone, they should also think of others, he said.

Dressed in a cream color sherwani, the Prime Minister addressed the gathering in Hindi and often interspersed his speech with verse. Invoking 'Lok Shakti' (People's power), Mr Singh said, "We should take a pledge on this auspicious day to stop infiltration from across the borders and defend the country's territorial integrity."

While describing the situation prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Assam, the Prime Minister said, "If we have made mistakes, we are ready to correct them." He, however, asserted that there could be no compromise with separatist elements.

He pointed out that some people were being misguided and instigated by some foreign powers to indulge in violence.

Without naming Pakistan, he said such people should remember that people who had left the country in 1947, were still being called "Mohajirs" in that country.

He dwelled at length on the steps taken by the National Front Government to bring about peace and normalcy in Punjab. Mr Singh said he visited the Golden Temple, Durgiana Mandir and Jallianwala Bagh to restore respectability to the Sikhs who were of late looked upon with suspicion. The 59th Amendment Bill was also withdrawn.

He said innocent people and army deserters who were put behind bars were released and special courts set up to settle the 1984 riot cases as a reconciliatory gesture of the National Front Government.

All this was done not as a bargain but to win the confidence of the people, he added.

Reiterating that the Government would not be soft with those "who are not with the country", the Prime Minister said "we will win Punjabis with love and defeat anti-Indians with the use of force".

Referring to the supply of petroleum products, the Prime Minister painted a grim picture and said if the rate of petrol was raised by one dollar a barrel in the international market the country's petroleum products' import bill would rise by Rs [rupees] 400 crore.

He said he was not in favor of petrol being imported on credit from other countries.

The Prime Minister hinted that there would be a ceiling on urban property and added that there should be some restriction on the construction of sprawling bungalows.

He said the Government had allocated a sum of Rs 265 crore for the welfare of youth, as compared to Rs 20 crore earmarked by the previous Government for this purpose.

About women, he said a legislation would be brought in Parliament to give 30 percent representation to women on panchayats. A national commission on women would be constituted by a legislation to ensure equal status for women in the society.

He said the Government would also implement through a legislation the long standing one rank-one pension demand of ex-servicemen. He emphasized the role the ex-servicemen could play in strengthening the "emotional unity" of the country.

Referring to foreign relations, the Prime Minister said the country had improved relations with all neighboring countries except Pakistan.

He made it clear that India would respond to any friendly gesture from Pakistan but it would never compromise on its national security.

Referring to his recent visit to Moscow, he said his meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev was very useful and "our relations have been further consolidated".

He also appreciated the United States' stand on the Kashmir issue and its support for the Simla Agreement.

About Bangladesh, he said progress had been made on the sharing of river waters. However, the Prime Minister expressed concern over the security of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

His government would impress upon the island government to set up camps for the Tamils fleeing the country. He, however, made it clear that no Tamil militant organization would be allowed to operate from Indian territory.

The Prime Minister expressed serious concern over the situation in Kuwait and Iraq and said that his Government neither supported violence nor use of armed forces anywhere in the world. He was also opposed to any unilateral action.

India was deeply concerned over the life and property of its people living there, Mr Singh said adding that he had sent his Cabinet colleague, Arif Mohammad Khan, to personally look into their difficulties. Mr Khan would also help those who wanted to come back to India, the Prime Minister said.

Remarks on Foreign Relations

91AS0041B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
16 Aug 90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 15. Describing the Iraq-Kuwait situation in the Gulf as "worrisome," the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, today deprecated "one-sided" action in the area, though he did not name any country.

In his Independence Day speech from Red Fort this morning, Mr Singh said India desired a solution that would eschew the use of force and the "deployment of armed forces."

Partially, this was a reiteration of the Indian position—that this country was opposed to the use of force in relations among nations—adopted a day after the Iraqi troops moved into Kuwait. India had also called on Iraq to withdraw its troops. But about the U.S. military moving into the Gulf, the Prime Minister's speech in Hindi also lent itself to being interpreted as an oblique criticism of this act. However, Mr Singh took care not to name anybody.

Speaking of foreign relations in general, he revealed that when he visited Moscow recently, he had worked out with the Soviet leader, Mr M. Gorbachev, "plans for the future." The visit had not merely served the purpose of cementing old ties, the Prime Minister noted.

With the U.S. too, relations had improved, he said. In respect of neighbors, Mr Singh said ties had improved

with all, except Pakistan "despite our friendly intent." He reiterated that India wanted friendship with Pakistan, but there could be no compromise with the country's unity and integrity. "If they take one step, we will take two to improve relations," he added.

The Prime Minister stated unambiguously that India would not permit Sri Lankan Tamil militants to establish bases on its soil. He favored refugee camps for Tamils displaced by the domestic fighting within Sri Lanka itself. "I am sure other countries will help in this venture," he added.

The price of petroleum and petroleum products had shot up suddenly following the recent developments in West Asia, the Prime Minister noted.

K. K. Katyal Report

91AS0041C Madras *THE HINDU* in English
16 Aug 90 p 7

[Article by K. K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug. 15. In his Independence Day address, the Prime Minister, Mr V. P. Singh, carefully chose the political points, intended to build an identifiable domestic constituency—rural sections in general and farming communities in particular, backward classes, minorities and women.

This was his first speech from the ramparts of Delhi's Red Fort—and fourth by a non-Congress Prime Minister (Mr. Moraji Desai had the opportunity in 1977 and 1978 and Mr Charan Singh in 1979), fourth also by one outside the Nehru family (Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri, among the other three). There was an element of suspense about the manner of his delivery, the content of his speech, the public response about the very ambience of the main Republic Day function, with him at the Center-stage. Mr Singh, it was clear, was capable of rhetorical flourishes, in a manner his predecessors, Jawaharlal Nehru not excluded, were not. His speech was well-structured, there being less evidence of straying into side-issues than used to be the case in the past. But, at times, he could not rise above the trite and conveyed the impression of undiluted populism.

Would the content of Mr Singh's address have been different, had Mr Devi Lal, Deputy Prime Minister till recently, not parted company with the Prime Minister and not sought to project himself as an ardent champion of farmers and ruralites and, a victim of the conspiracies by the urbanites entrenched in seats of power? Perhaps yes. The detailed exposition of the National Front Government's policies and programs for agriculturists and rural areas—and the attention paid to the subject, as a whole—were clearly directed at those trying to hijack this constituency. When Mr Singh said that he, "with his own pen," issued orders for allocating 50 percent of the resources to rural areas, the message was clear—that any other champion of ruralites could not claim this credit.

No one had thought that the Prime Minister would retract, even symbolically, the policy decision on job reservation for the "other backward classes", announced with a fanfare only recently. But some did count on a reference to mollify, to soothe vast sections of students, upset by the prospect of shrunken employment opportunities and of the caste rather than merit being the criterion for selections in government service. That hope was belied—the Prime Minister confined himself to a defence of the Government's acceptance of the Mandal Commission report.

Similarly, those who may have regarded the recent Rajya Sabha references to 40 percent reservations "for the poor" (whatever it might have meant) in Parliament and state legislatures as stray thoughts will have to revise their opinion. Mr Singh proposes to pursue this proposition seriously—not only by starting a debate on it but also by implementing whatever ideas crystalize out of it. This was because, in his opinion, poor could not be uplifted economically unless they have a share in political power.

Last year, the Republic Day speech of the Prime Minister of the day, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, was marked by fierce attacks on the Opposition. That and the choice of other subjects like security and integrity of the country, the threats posed by divisive forces, the indispensability of the Congress(I) in that context and plans for the transfer of power to the people were interpreted as setting the tone for the election campaign. The Lok Sabha poll was round the corner then—it came a little over three months after the Independence Day—and the obsessive concern with the Opposition, gathering strength around that time provided the staple to the Prime Ministerial rhetoric—in Parliament, at party forums and in public speeches.

Mr Singh avoided mentioning the Opposition parties, but made a positive reference to his allies, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and the Left parties. Their support to the Government, he said, was principled and not personality-oriented. Is Mr Singh's special attention to a vast domestic constituency to be related to the compulsions created by Mr Devi Lal or the next approach to the electorate, whenever it may be?

Analyst Reports on President's National Day Speech

91AS0042A Madras THE HINDU in English
15 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Aug 14. Aghast at the escalating phenomenon of terrorism, the President, Mr R. Venkataraman, today denounced attacks on public servants, as also the barbaric practice of kidnapping by extremists. "Let us all resolve to regard these instances, be they in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam or elsewhere, as aberrations from human decency. Our society seems to be degenerating to barbarism and unless the State, with public

support, is able to curb all forms of terrorism we, as a nation, will soon forfeit our claim to be the representatives of an ancient culture and civilization, he said in a message to the nation on the eve of Independence Day.

Because of its deadlines and topicality, terrorism was uppermost in the mind of the President as he surveyed the 43 years of independent India, its achievements and failings. Terrorism, he noted, acted with diabolical sophistication and hit out at innocent men, women and children who had offended no one.

Mr Venkataraman reiterated his earlier suggestion for global action to eliminate the scourge of terrorism. Such action by the international community, had led to the lessening of the menace of hijacking of aircraft and vessels, he said, calling for an international convention not to give asylum to terrorists and to hand them over to countries where offence had been committed irrespective of any bilateral extradition treaties.

Although he did not say so, the absence of such an arrangement was responsible to a large extent, or India's problems in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir, the targets of violence, engineered by terrorists operating safely from across the border.

Bitter animosities: The President was unhappy over the bitter animosities characterizing the contemporary scene—"Individual group ego is inflamed beyond recognition and seem set to either give or take offence on any triviality. Majorities juxtaposed in confrontation with minorities, migrants with residents, farmers with city-dwellers, tribals with plainspersons, are a negation of nationhood. Unfortunately people seem to take pride in emphasizing the differences and not the commonality amongst them".

Mr Venkataraman stressed the need to adopt economic and trade policies so as to be in tune with the new patterns of global trade. That was because of the current dramatic developments—the struggle of the controlled economies, now changing over to competitive regimes, to find a foothold in the new dispensation. He said: "Developing countries with their backward technologies, poor quality and high cost of production are particularly vulnerable to the changing pattern of trade. Unless India gears itself to meet the challenge by updating technology, improving efficiency and reducing costs, it is sure to be left behind in the competitive world".

Strides by industry: Among the achievements, the President mentioned the transformation of Indian agriculture—from its reliance on imports to the present self-sufficiency—the strides by industry and entrepreneurship, with the result that India was among the first 15 industrialized countries of the world. Though it missed the industrial revolution, India, according to Mr Venkataraman, was determined not to miss out on the advantages of the current technological revolution. He referred to the progress in the fields of computers, nuclear power plants, oceanography, genetic engineering, biotechnology and space research. The recently-launched

satellite INSAT 1-D had already become operational for telecommunications, television, radio networking and round-the clock weather watching through the "weather eye".

Premadasa's message: In an unconventional message, characterized by unusual warmth, on Independence Day, the Sri Lankan President, Mr R. Premadasa, thanked India for assurances on the unity and territorial integrity of the island.

Mr Premadasa was also appreciative of India's assurances that there would be no interference in Sri Lanka's internal affairs and that Indian territory would not be allowed to be used by militant groups for subversion against his country. He was happy at India's understanding of the complex problems affecting Sri Lanka.

"These sentiments", Mr Premadasa said, "strengthen us in the belief that India has a significant role to play in ensuring the stability of our region".

Papers Report on Role of Developments in Navy

Nadkarni Article

91AS0043A *New Delhi PATRIOT in English*
13 Aug 90 p 3

[Text] The current wave of reconciliation sweeping through the West and the lessening of tension in the region must not make India complacent about its security environment in the next 25 years, says India's naval chief, reports UNI.

On the threats to India's security in the next quarter century, Admiral J.G. Nadkarni told the Indian Defence Review (IDR) that the peace in the West, the cessation of Iran-Iraq war and withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan did not affect the United States-Pakistan connections and cooperation nor had it ruled out, for ever, extra-regional powers' interests in the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean.

Admiral Nadkarni said, arms producers would now look for new markets in the region as well as the Third World countries following some reduction of arms between the West and the East in the European threat. "This is the emerging scenario as I see it in the next few years", he said.

In the next decade, Admiral Nadkarni does not see any change in the security or threat perceptions as far as India's equation with Pakistan is concerned. Later, under economic pressure, countries like the Soviet Union and the United States might find it difficult to maintain forces of any sizable strength in the Indian Ocean.

"It is also possible that in the vacuum created by the withdrawal of some extra regional navies from the Indian Ocean, there would be temptation for other powers to move their navies into the ocean under the pretext of ensuring the security of their oil supplies.

To meet these new challenges in the next 20 years, Admiral Nadkarni says a strong military posture by India will certainly be a deterrent against other extra-regional powers coming into the Indian Ocean.

He said the Indian Navy was planning a legitimate and steady modernization of its forces towards this end. "But side by side with the military posture it is also important for us to take political initiatives to ensure that the littoral countries look upon India not as a big brother but as an equal partner in the quest by South Asian countries to better the lot of their people.

Admiral Nadkarni also talked about the need to replace the two aircraft carriers, which are more than 30 years old now. He said plans were afoot to replace one of them and India has entered into a collaboration agreement with a French firm for the concept design of the carrier.

The construction of the new carrier could start in the Cochin Shipyard next year and once it was out it would probably replace Vikrant, Admiral Nadkarni said.

"The type of carrier that we will be wanting will be one which will be capable of the role of force projection both in peace and war, within and outside our maritime jurisdiction", he said.

Admiral Nadkarni agreed with the IDR's assessment that after decommissioning about 75 percent of its present holding of frigates the Indian Navy will need to induct about 25 frigates in the next 10 years. He however said because of the financial and other constraints like availability from abroad, the increase in the Navy's frigate strength might be only marginal if not at a standstill by the end of the century.

On the indigenously designed 6,000 tonnes project 15 frigate, he said the vessel would have multi-capability. It will be armed with surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles and the latest generation of anti-submarine sensors and weapons, it will carry two multi-purpose helicopters on board which could be used in both anti-submarine and anti-surface roles.

Similarly, submarines with the Navy will be requiring replacement in the next 10 years. "We have acquired seven 877-Class S submarines. In addition, we have built two HDW [Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft A.G.] type submarines in Germany and two are under construction at Mazagaon docks.

Admiral Nadkarni, while referring to the leasing of the Chakra, said the primary reason for its acquisition for a period of three years was to increase "Our threshold knowledge for nuclear propulsion and operation of ships fitted with nuclear propulsion system.

"We have done this primarily to increase our knowledge in this aspect so that should we ever think of going in four nuclear propulsion, we will be starting from a point where we have the trained manpower and the knowhow. At present we have no such plans", he said.

Referring to the marines special force, he pointed out that India had many offshore assets which could be subjected to terrorist attacks or threats.

New Patrol Vessel

91AS0043B Madras *THE HINDU* in English
23 Aug 90 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Visakhapatnam, Aug 22. The Hindustan Shipyard Limited [HSL]-built INS [Indian Navy Ship] Sharada, the third in a series of four offshore patrol vessels for the Navy, was launched here on Wednesday by Mrs Rajashree Gurupadaswamy, wife of Mr M.S. Gurupadaswamy, Union Minister for Petroleum and Chemicals.

INS Sharada became the 105th vessel to slide out of the slipways of the HSL after Mrs Gurupadaswamy performed the traditional ceremony of christening the ship, applying 'kumkum' on it, painting a swastik mark, sprinkling rice and flowers on the bow and breaking a coconut.

The event was witnessed by a large gathering of officers and workers of the shipyard and their families, Naval personnel, ONGC [Oil and Natural Gas Commission] members and representatives of various government departments.

Speaking on the occasion, Mr Gurupadaswamy said the construction of offshore patrol vessels at the HSL was generally in line with the schedules. 'This speaks very high of the Officers and men working on these ships.'

New dimension: Rear Admiral S.C. Bindra, Chairman and Managing Director of the HSL, said the order for the construction of offshore patrol vessels from the navy marked a new dimension in the yard's production program as it was an entry into warship construction area.

Taking up this responsibility did a lot of good to the HSL by way of technological build-up and an emerging new work-culture. The gloomy era of a "very heavy backlog" in delivery schedules was nearing an end.

Admiral Bindra said the order book in the shipbuilding sector was not satisfactory. The HSL currently had a difficulty in respect of construction of two bulkers of 42,750 dwt [deadweight ton] for the Shipping Corporation of India as the price fixed by the Government did not cover even 34 percent of the cost of construction.

Vice-Admiral L. Ramdas, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief of Eastern Naval Command, spoke, Vice-Admiral B. Guha, Controller of Warship Production, Naval Headquarters, was present.

Trained 'Subversives' in Camps on Pakistan Kashmir

91AS0046A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
22 Aug 90 p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Jammu, Aug 21. About 4,000 to 6,000 trained subversives hailing mostly from the Kashmir Valley are held up in about nine camps located near the Indo-Pak border in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, according to reports from across the border and interrogation of the apprehended people.

They are waiting for an opportunity to cross over to this side of Line of Control on their way to Kashmir where their associates are indulging in subversive activities for achieving their so-called objective of an "independent Kashmir." The camps are located in Kel, Lipa, Abbottabad, Bagh, Rawalakot, Nikial, Rawalpindi, Hollar and Mirpur in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. At least seven of these camps are close to the border to Rajouri, Poonch and Uri Sector.

On the other hand, a piquant situation has been created in these camps that the subversives are not allowed to leave these premises until arrangements are being made for sending them to this side of the border. About 500 of them who escaped from the camps to settle down in Pakistan were apprehended and jailed. They tried to escape for the fear of being get killed during their attempt to infiltrate into the Indian territory.

The leaders of the militant group who was apprehended recently told his interrogators that about 400 of his accomplices were waiting near Kahuta, a major township of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir [PoK] and garrison headquarters of Pakistan army. The garrison headquarters is only 13 km from the mountain passes of Poonch and Uri. Kahuta is like a base camp for the infiltrators.

UNI reports:

Armed training: PoK has said that it will openly impart armed training to the militants in Kashmir.

Its Prime Minister, Mr Mumtaz Rathore, announcing compulsory military training for everyone in the area, told, a rally in Muzaffarabad, about his government's 'unconditional support' to Muslims battling security forces in Jammu and Kashmir, *The Guardian* reported today.

Bid to blow up bridge: Militants hanged to death one person and made an abortive attempt to blow up the Botakadal bridge during a 12-hour curfew relaxation in the city today.

According to police sources, militants hanged to death Shanker Dass at Badgam, early today. The outlawed Hizbul Mujahideen claimed responsibility for the incident.

Some miscreants set off a bomb explosion on the Botakadal bridge in the down town city. However, only a pipe was damaged in the blast. Two other bomb explosions took place at two private houses at Jawahar Nagar and Karan Nagar. No one was injured in these blasts.

Shops and business establishments remained open during the curfew relaxation from 5-30 a.m. Transport services on all routes were also normal.

Two ex-MLAs [Members of Legislative Assembly] quit: The National Conference headed by the former Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr Farooq Abdullah, received a further setback today with two former party legislators announcing their decision to resign.

In a statement here today, the two leaders, Mr Sharief Uddin Sharik and Mr Mushtaq Ahmad Lone, said they had severed all links with the National Conference, which till recently had a mass base in the valley.

They alleged that the security forces were committing 'atrocities' on Kashmiris in the State. They demanded immediate halt to what they termed as 'innocent arrests' and excesses by the security forces on the Kashmiri people.

The two leaders also clarified that they would not joint any political party.

IRAN

Domestic Assemblage of Volvo Trucks Resumes

90AS0050D Tehran KEYHAN-E HAVA'I in Persian
26 Sep 90 p 10

[Text] 16 September, production of Volvo trucks in the Iran Kaveh factory, which had halted since 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988] due to foreign currency restrictions, has resumed.

Engineer Nezhad-Hoseynian, the minister of heavy industries, who was present at the inauguration ceremonies for this production line, announcing that the annual production of trucks in the country is 10,400, said: Of the trucks produced in the country, 1,200 are produced in this factory.

He added: The production of trucks in the first five months of this year has increased by 69 percent compared to a similar period last year.

The minister of heavy industries also said: Because of the country's need for heavy trucks, a permit has been issued to purchase 5,000 trucks from abroad.

It should be pointed out that Iran Kaveh, in addition to producing trucks, has a capacity to produce 1,250 trailers as well.

According to KEYHAN's correspondent, the production line of the heavy trucks of Iran Kaveh factory began in 1344 [21 March 1966-20 March 1966] with the production of Mack trucks.

The Iran Kaveh factory signed an agreement with Sweden in late 1362 [1984] to build and produce F-12 trucks and produced an annual average of 400 Volvo trucks from 1363 to the end of 1365 [21 March 1984-20 March 1987]. According to this report, from 1366 to the end of Mordad 1369 [22 August 1990], the above-mentioned production line was halted because of foreign currency restrictions. Considering the needs of the society, the F-12 truck line began from 1 Shahrvivar this year [23 August 1990] with the production of two trucks per day.

According to this report: The official annual capacity of the factory is 1,250 in one shift and 2,500 in two shifts. Considering that the F-12 is a modern truck, it has potential for export as well.

At the present time, 20 percent of the parts for the Volvo truck and about 60 percent of the trailer parts are procured from domestic sources.

The factory intends to increase production capacity in the long term by using domestic resources.

PAKISTAN

Punjab PPP Official on Electioneering, Party Stance

91AS0004D Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
6 Sep 90 pp 11-12

[Text] The Punjab PPP [Pakistan People's Party] has decided to recommend committed and sincere party workers for tickets for the elections promised for 24 October.

This was stated by Mr Fakhr Zaman, President, Punjab PPP, while talking to VIEWPOINT in Lahore shortly before leaving for Karachi for his party's Central Executive meeting.

He said that the party would not repeat the mistakes of 1988 in awarding its tickets and was confident that it would improve its position in the forthcoming elections.

Indeed, Mr Fakhr Zaman, despite the pressures on the party, exuded confidence. He said: "The crowds gathered to welcome Mohtarma Benazir Bhutto in Rawalpindi, Lahore, Multan, Bahawalpur and Rahimyar Khan have created a tempo almost similar to that of 1970. People waited hours in this scorching heat to catch a glimpse of their leader.

He stressed that the Punjab PPP had always kept the party's ideological character in mind and arranged workers' conventions in nearly every district of the

province to mobilize the workers. It also arranged seminars, conferences and meetings to bring the democratic and progressive forces on one platform.

Mr Fakhr Zaman was evasive in his answer to a question about the alleged irregularities on the part of some former PPP Ministers which had damaged the party and alienated a number of workers. He merely said that the Care-taker Government had confused the whole process of accountability. According to him, the verdict of the people in the coming election would be the sole determinant of the party's integrity and sincerity.

The PPP leader defended the party's record in Government. He said that Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had got five years to run his Government, but had not been able to implement many points of his party's programme. Ms Benazir Bhutto had run the Government only for a brief period of 20 months, and this too while lacking a three-fourths majority and with the Eighth Amendment hanging over her head and a hostile Senate, yet the PPP Government had much to its credit. It had won international support in favour of the Kashmiri freedom-fighters and raised the image of the country in the comity of nations. Ms Benazir Bhutto had secured an agreement with France to buy an atomic plant for Pakistan. She had made concerted efforts to raise the level of foreign investment in Pakistan. The industrialization process was speeded up, and the People's Programme was launched to provide the basic amenities of life to the poor and develop the backward areas of the country. Villages were electrified extensively, Sui gas was supplied to neglected areas of the country, and many schools built.

Asked whether Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khar's parting of ways with the PPP headed by Ms Bhutto would have any impact, Mr Fakhr Zaman said that the Khar revolt would not harm the party in any way. Even before Mr Khar's move, many people had tried to form their own factions or groups in the party. But they had all miserably failed. Mr Khar's convention in Lahore was also a flop.

Mr Fakhar Zaman was optimistic about the holding of elections on time. He said that he expected that the elections would be held as promised by President Ishaq Khan. But in case they were postponed, the party was ready to come out on the streets. But the party, he said, did not expect free and fair polls under the Care-taker governments.

"The party policy in case of involving of Ms Benazir in corruption cases by the present Care-Taker Government will be decided by the Central Executive Committee of the party. The party does not accept the accountability tribunals."

The PPP leader was not sure of party policy in case Ms Bhutto was declared ineligible to participate in elections. He said in that case whether the elections should be contested by the party or boycotted would have to be

decided by the high command. Elections without Ms Bhutto's participation, he said, would be a farce.

Commenting on Dr Mubashir Hasan's decision to field candidates in collaboration with Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan, he said that he believed that Dr Mubashir Hasan would reach an understanding with the PPP and, in the larger interests of democracy, would not field his own candidates. "We hope Mr Mairaj Mohammad Khan will also have an understanding with us. He has assured the PPP that he will not support any attempt to divide the Pakistan People's Party."

Dilating upon the programme of the PPP for the October election, he said that a committee was working on drafting a new manifesto. But by and large it would be the same as in 1988. But the real issue at this time, Mr Zaman said, is the choice between democratic and anti-democratic forces. "People know very well who has been struggling for democracy and rule of the people and which forces are working to subvert the democratic process. People will make a choice between those who believe in and work for the constitution and those who had supported dictators and sided with those removing elected government."

He said the PPP wanted all democratic, progressive parties to join hands with the party and adopt a unanimous stand against anti-democratic forces. He said that until the restoration of the 1973 Constitution in its original form, hindrances in the way of democracy would remain.

Commentary Says Mohajirs Dominate Karachi Politics

91AS0005E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
14 Sep 90 p 7

[Article by Tanvir Ahmad; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi, 13 September: The first phase of election 1990—filing of nomination papers for the National Assembly [NA]—was completed on Wednesday. The official list of candidates in the run for 217 NA seats will be available on 1 October, the last day of September being the last date for withdrawal. In between, from 13 to 29 September will be the process of filing objections, hearing of petitions and scrutiny of nomination papers.

Karachi, with 13 NA seats, appears once again in a mood to vote on the pattern as was witnessed in the November 1988 elections—a sweep for the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) which had then captured 11 seats from the city. The two MQM setbacks in 1988 were NA-189 (Lyari) a traditional PPP [Pakistan People's Party] stronghold for the last two decades, and NA 184 (SITE [Sindh Industrial Trading Estates] and Shershah) from where former Federal Health Minister Syed Amir Haider Kazmi was elected by a couple of hundred votes. In all the other constituencies, MQM nominees, contesting as

independents, had won by thumping majorities, "silencing" some "big guns" like Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani of the JUP [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan] and Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, Secretary General of the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] and Naib Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami [JI]. In fact, one MQM candidate, Mohammad Aslam, a totally unknown political entity then, had created a record by securing 1.2 lakh votes from NA-188 (North Karachi), an all-time record of votes polled by any candidate. Such was the "Mohajir wave" which swept Karachi in the last elections.

That MQM will once again take the lion's share from Karachi is hardly in doubt. The issues of immediate interest however are—firstly will its candidates be able to poll and win with the same big margins as previously, and secondly whether the PPP will be able to pick another seat from Karachi in addition to the two it had been securing in the last four party-based elections since 1970?

With all the efforts and hectic activity, bargaining and give-and-take which was seen during the last two weeks, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad and its supporters' desire to put up joint candidates against the PPP did not materialise as far as Karachi is concerned. No doubt the IJI and its allies in former COP [Combined Opposition Parties] have to a great extent been successful in fielding "joint" candidates in most NA constituencies in Punjab, barring about 20 seats where decision is still pending and where apparently no consensus is possible, in Sindh in general and Karachi in particular, there is a triangular contest on the anvil—MQM, IJI and PPP fielding candidates besides some smaller parties for all 13 seats.

Why has the IJI not been able to let MQM its most vocal, effective and staunch ally in the NA from among the COP parties since the breaking up of the PPP-MQM accord, fight out the PPP here is the fact that IJI's second most important component, the Jamaat-e-Islami, still considers Karachi to be its political domain—on the basis of historical claims spreading over last thirty years. One will have to go back to the 1960s and 1970s to find out the reason for the JI reluctance to 'surrender' its claim over Karachi to a comparatively new entrant in the political arena—the MQM.

The almost humiliating setbacks in 1988 notwithstanding, the JI problem is that some of its senior and important leaders, including its Naib Amir and IJI Secretary General, have probably no option but to contest from Karachi and some other urban seats of Sindh, like Hyderabad, Sukkur and Larkana. If MQM is not ready to surrender any of its seats to the IJI and its "grand alliance," as it has done and the IJI high-command knew it from day one, the dilemma for the IJI is how to accommodate some of the leaders of its most organised component, the Jamaat Islami. As a result the JI has filed nomination papers from several constituencies of the city, prominent among them being Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad, Mohammad Usman Ramz and Syed Munawar Hasan.

Apart from MQM and JI, the third factor in the Karachi elections is the JUP whose two top-notchers are Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani (NA-190 old city area) and Shah Faridul Haq (NA-184). While in NA-190, Maulana Noorani would be once again matching his experience and wits against Karachi's mayor Dr Farooq Sattar, like in 1988. In NA-184, Shah Faridul Haq is among the 22 candidates including PNP's [Pakistan National Party] Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, PPI's [Pashtun-Punjabi Ittehad] Malik Mir Hazar Khan, Musheer Ahmad Pesh Imam, formerly of TI [Tehrik-i-Istiqial], and PPP nominee Ghulam Mohammad Chishti. NA-184 is also incidentally the constituency from where the maximum number of candidates have filed nomination papers.

Interestingly, the least number of candidates are in the neighbouring NA-185 (Orangi) from where only four are in the run. PPP's Afaq Shahid, who had won by a convincing margin in the 1985 partyless polls but was defeated by MQM's Saleemul Haq in 1988 by an equally convincing margin, will in all probability again face the same rival. The other constituency with a small number of candidates is NA-198 (Lyari) from where former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has filed nomination papers along with six others, one being her cover candidate. If the 1970, 1977 and 1988 elections are any indication, this is going to be the most lacklustre one to watch on 24 October. Barring any unpredictable situation, NA-189 voters are considered to return yet another PPP nominee again.

As per unofficial figures available here on Thursday morning after the last date for filing papers had expired, a total of 106 papers were filed for the 13 NA seats from four districts of Karachi division. A clearer and more positive overview would be possible only after 1 October, when the official list will be made public.

Commentary Notes, Criticizes Benazir-Asghar Khan Alliance

91AS0005D Karachi DAWN in English 13 Sep 90 p 5

[Article by Rifaat Hamid Ghani]

[Text] One was Happy, the other is Sharif, for this is the day of Sharafat in politics—gentlemen all. But the occupation is the same delightful one, "Ambassador-at-Large." Considering we still don't have one at St. James's, couldn't we have done without one at large for two months?

But the caretaker Information Minister has already let us know that the next PM [prime minister] will be either the present Caretaker, no longer needing to ignore the caretaker aspect of his official designation, or Mian Nawaz Sharif. Of course, she meant if the party wins. But which party? For those of us who have to watch our words, one would appreciate a clarification as to when the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] is a party and when it is an alliance. Both the caretaker PM and the former Punjab CM [Chief Minister] are IJI, so that shouldn't cause a problem. One leads his own party in toto, there not being

enough of it to break away. Come to think of it, that is not true, there was a breakaway who gave the defeated leader the seat he had to spare. The other leads most of what there is to be led of his party, and such was the quality of his control he didn't need to carry the sceptre to be recognised as the real party leader. But who is the leading leader of the alliance?

Some political observers, native to the scene, which makes them a less impressive source to quote (one must admit they are not the sort likely to be seen having tea with the President or being looked after by caretakers) maintain that, practically speaking, the IJI is a party: its manifesto, keep out the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]; its programme, power; and its platform, PTV [Pakistan Television]. Its constitution welcomes up to eight amendments.

Once people find seats, the COP [Combined Opposition Parties]-IJI mixture will seem less like an unlikely cock-tail. The filing of nomination papers should answer the real question about the party aspect of any alliance.

Official charges against Ms Bhutto gelled on Monday. Two references have been filed against the former PM. Irregularities relate to the award of a contract, and the appointment of a consultant. How shocking! The loss to the nation was in millions, and the loss to the Assembly in all its seats.

Two more references have been filed against her with the Special Tribunal in Lahore.

Dyed in the wool PPP advocates say that kind of thing happens all the time. The answer to that is quite simple. It's one thing for the bureaucracy to do it, which is after all institutionalised and harder to dislodge. PMs are not supposed to be like almost everyone else. They operate without red tape, and that makes them more effective. Deployment is rapid, and their strike force can be lethal. Any deviations on their part have greater scope for damage, grander scale, and graver implications. Ms Bhutto's supporters will not concede more than a certain indiscretion about discretionary powers. Gender gets in the way to quoting the old adage about Caesar and his wife, so let us recall Queen Victoria who said "I will be good"—and was.

Following the announcement that references had been filed, Karachi was a buzz with rumours of "trouble." They say there was an explosion near the Kalapul, but there has been neither denial nor confirmation of this. The citizens' grapevine had the day off, because the next day was a holiday, with everyone preferring to stay home and lie low. It was the Quaid-i-Azam's death anniversary and it coincided with the Chehlum. The trouble at Agra Taj Colony was just a few days old, and the day was tense. Nothing happened here, and people tried not to think what the trouble at Hyderabad can mean.

Photographers complained about fruitless vigils for a shot of Ms Bhutto filing nomination papers. But they had already taken the photograph of the week: Air

Marshal Asghar Khan, and Ms Bhutto in a new found alliance. She now adds all of the one thousand and one votes he couldn't win with, to the strength of the PPP. It lessens her present isolation, some argue. But isn't the Air Marshal also isolated? In fact, isn't he obsolete? Of course, just like Kot Adu gave Mr Jatoti a footing, Ms Bhutto can be providing one for the Air Marshal, in which case, his strategy is brilliant. But what of hers?

Since inconsistency doesn't trouble her, wouldn't she have gained more by "losing face" and sharing with Uncle Mumtaz; reaching a better understanding with Mr Pirzada; listening to independent opinions inside and outside her fold? She should have had a glut of flattery and sycophancy by now. Above all, less arrogance about her mistakes would serve her. The strength to bend low in honest apology to the MQM and ANP and convince her own adherents of the wisdom of it, is more the kind of thing that could end her isolation.

Ms Bhutto's shortcomings politically are not all of the sort that can be filed in a reference. They appear rather in the kind of statement that is implicit in Mr Asif Zardari's getting a ticket; the intensification of personal animosity with the President; her insistence that there was nothing wrong. The personality traits that impaired her performance in office—how can her supporters and well-wishers refer those away? Only she can. One waits for a sign.

Commentary: Personal Scores, Not Corruption Getting Settled

91AS0006F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Sep 90 p 4

[Commentary by Mohammad Yasin: "Abiding Corruption"; italics as published]

[Text] There is no disputing the fact that corruption is a malaise eating into the vitals of the social fabric. And there are no two opinions about the fact that from the early days of founding of Pakistan, the corruption that we inherited from the colonial masters became integral part of the system. There could not have been any change in the system overnight. The existing corruption fuelled more of it. Evacuee property left by the Hindus and Sikhs passed into undeserving hands with the connivance of the powers that were then in seats of authority in the provinces. Loot and plunder became a way of life. And we have not seen the last of it.

In the system bequeathed to us by the British Raj, the basic units of administration were *thanedar*, *lumberdar*, and *patwari*. It was through them that the British and their cohorts—the big *zamindars* in the overwhelmingly rural society of the areas forming present-day Pakistan—kept population under surveillance and control by intimidating and suppressing them. These minions of administration exacted their price by indulging in corruption. The *patwari*, in league with the *lumberdar* and *thanedar* would do anything and go to any limit to mint money and please the powers that be in the rural society. The

jagirdars and middle-class *zamindars* made effective use of the minions of the administration to promote their vested interests.

Through the Tehsildars, the *zamindars* belonging to the Unionist Party in pre-Independence days used the *pat-waris* for the furtherance of their interests and terrorised the rural populace through the *lumberdars* and *thane-dars*. After the emergence of Pakistan, the big *zamindars* switched their loyalties and became *pucca* Muslim Leaguers and with the downfall of the Muslim League, they became Republicans. And when Martial Law was imposed, they became the supporters of military regimes. In between, there was the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government and they became the votaries of the PPP.

The upshot of the whole discussion is that despite the changes in the political leadership, the basic structure of the system in the rural areas did not change as the *de facto* ruling groups in the rural society, despite their in-fightings, did not let any change take place in the system through which they lorded it over the common people. Corruption in the administration thrived and multiplied many times over in lieu of the services rendered to the ruling elites in the rural society. The system suited all the protagonists in the game. During the unrepresentative and dictatorial regimes in the country, the system was effectively used by the rulers to suppress the people. Despite the harangue against corruption from time to time, it was in fact tacitly connived at. When the heavy and light weights of the combine of bureaucracy and political leadership belong to the same class and have common interests, there is no question at all of changing the system.

Coming to corruption in the urban society, it must be said without any fear of contradiction that it has gone to the extremes. There is no stigma attached to it as it is socially accepted. A lowly job with the potential of getting money in bribe is preferred and socially accepted.

In the cities, too, there are vast opportunities for corruption. Contract system which forms the bedrock of all the local bodies and all the utility departments, has come to be the major source of corruption and gobbling up of precious public funds. According to cautious estimates, half the funds that go into contractual projects are misused, embezzled and mis-spent. Invariably, the formalities required for the grant of contracts are not fully observed. Ways and means of passing over the formalities are always found out. The authorities that are supposed to see to the observance of the rules and regulations in the grant of contracts, generally connive at departures from the rules. It is common knowledge that commissions for approving contracts are fixed from the lowest to the highest echelons of authority. Take the conditions of roads and have a look at the funds reserved for them by the local bodies and departments. The short span of time in which the roads constructed with so much of money, deteriorate, shows if any proof was needed of mis-spending of precious funds. The life-style

of officials and contractors is enough indication of the way these institutions are exploited by them to make quick dough. There is no accountability of the corrupt in these institutions.

Or, go to any public sector and government organisation. There is repetition of the same story. Public money is squandered at will. How is it that the sons and relatives of the high-ranking bureaucrats always end up by landing good jobs with multinationals, major industries and commercial houses? How is it that the bureaucrats in higher echelons can afford to spend beyond their known means at the weddings of their daughters and sons? Kick-offs and commissions in both the foreign and domestic deals are common knowledge. But none of these Holy Cows who are the beneficiaries of the hefty cuts, has ever been exposed.

The late Gen Zia exploited local bodies for his political support, and his cohorts during his lifetime and later have fully exploited these institutions which could have worked wonders if they were run honestly. How much work the local bodies did is evident from the battered and broken roads, insanitation, poor health facilities, and lack of other civic amenities in cities and towns. Conditions in the rural areas are much worse. Even so, if you were to look at the development funds allocated to the local bodies, you would think they must have brought about a radical change in the looks of cities and towns. It is in common knowledge as to who are the beneficiaries of the funds. The common people definitely are not the ones to benefit from it.

Kick-offs and commissions for major deals for which there is no accountability, have been instrumental in making ineffective all developmental activity and ruining national economy. Never was any effort made to change the system that has led to the creation of conditions for giving boost to corruption.

Twenty-five years of martial law regimes combined with the rule by more or less autocratic regimes have kept the country in a permanent state of instability, making it possible for unscrupulous people to loot and plunder without fear of accountability. And there can be no political stability without uninterrupted democracy. Elections after a fixed period are the surest way of conducting the process of accountability. In the present-day democracies in the world, the voters have always rejected the corrupt and the dishonest even without having any bar on the convicted people to contest election.

In Pakistan, we are not really serious about corruption. Had we been serious about it, we would have changed the system. The word "accountability" that is currently being much talked about lacks real seriousness. It is being used just to settle personal scores. The rampant corruption is being connived at. While corruption on one side is being ignored corruption on the other side of the political divide is being blown out of all proportions. As if one segment of the politicians is corrupt, while the

other comprises all holy souls who were so angelic that they did no wrong all their lives and never got loans from the public exchequer to get them written off.

Commentary Criticizes Representation in PPP

91AS0004C Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
6 Sep 90 pp 9-11

[Text] Whose People's Party is it? The ordinary people's and workers' or of those who became ministers and advisers in the party's government? Or of the feudals who get elected on the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] ticket?

This question has always dogged the party when it has been in power, and was persistently raised during the past 20 months by workers and progressive elements. There was a feeling that those workers who had resisted Zia's martial law were ignored when the time came for appointment to party offices or the award of tickets.

The problem with the People's Party always has been—and this appears often to be ignored by its critical cadres—that it has been forced to act as a broad church, a movement which encompasses all elements of society, in all provinces and regions. Given the feudal structure of society, it has had to make electoral compromises and, when in power, obliged to give these who supported it their pound of flesh. It should also be remembered that, again because of circumstances, the party's struggle against dictatorship and for democracy has tended to overshadow any ideological commitment.

Even its original slogan—'roti, kapra, makaan'—which had so caught the imagination of the people which the PPP was formed, was not an ideological slogan. But it was the first time that any party had talked of the people and the people's basic needs, and given the masses a sense of identity and of being wanted. This contribution endures in the hearts of the people and the party's workers, and that is why the PPP remains the single largest party which has defied attempts to defeat it electorally or to break it through intrigue and blackmail.

Where the party's ministers, advisers and legislators have tripped is in not keeping in touch with their workers and by giving every sign of becoming part of the Establishment. It is immaterial who PPP started the Pajero culture: the fact is that, in the average worker's perception, their representatives also became part of that culture. That explains the grumblings heard from time to time and slogans such as "Benazir, Benazir bey musheer bey vazeer" and the protests heard when the PPP Co-Chairperson addressed workers in Lahore, Peshawar and other places.

But when the crunch comes, as it now has, even the disgruntled workers pledge loyalty to the party, and recent days have seen a touching trust in and support for Benazir Bhutto as she tries, amidst enormous pressure and under the threat of being disqualified, to prepare her party for the elections scheduled for 24 October.

The PPP remains a party of its workers and the people, as the following interviews, conducted for VIEWPOINT by Adnan Adil, show. There is also an interview with the President of the Punjab PPP, Mr Fakhar Zaman.

"We (the workers) have always brought the party to ascendancy and the feudals and capitalists have brought disaster to it.

These were the words of an old and dedicated worker of the People's Party who was among those approached for comments on the party's working and the performance of ministers and legislators. Some of the workers were reluctant to express their views publicly. But the majority was of the view that in this hour of trial, it was not proper to voice their complaints about the party.

Many workers were of the view that there was nothing wrong with the party structure or its leadership. They thought that those who were criticising the party leadership or its office-bearers were doing so for their own ends. The workers were critical of those who, in their view, were harming the party position by raising doubts about its office-bearers or its central leadership.

Some workers said that given the set up of Pakistani society, corruption and nepotism were not seen by the people as a crime. Some workers hoped that the PPP would adopt a more democratic structure that would have accountability built into the system. They expressed the belief that the opportunists would now be weeded out.

Shahida Jabin, a PPP activist of Dharampura, said: "The workers' dedication and hard work has made the conventions of the party after Benazir's removal a success. The workers of the party have always resurrected it and the capitalists and feudals have always brought disaster to it.

"Corruption was not greater in the Federal Government than in the Punjab Government. Corruption is part and parcel of this capitalist system. To eliminate corruption, we have to change the system. If somebody speaks of accountability, he should hold accountable both the parties, the PPP as well as the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad]. Even the present members of the Care-taker Governments were involved in malpractices."

Shahida Jabin said that the PPP Government should have made those army officers who had prosecuted political workers accountable. But the party had not done so out of the need for national reconciliation. And now it was being held accountable.

She said that the ruling classes of Pakistan had created hindrances in the way of the PPP since its advent. They had barred the way of welfare works.

Party elections

Shahida Jabin said that the party should bank on the strength of the workers and masses of the country. She urged the high command not to give party tickets to

capitalists or feudals. She also demanded that party offices should be filled through elections rather than nomination.

She refuted the propaganda that party workers could not contest election because of shortage of funds. She gave the examples of many poor workers who had contested elections in 1970 and got elected. When party workers could organize large conventions and meetings, they could contest elections also on their own.

Shahida Jabin urged the party leadership to give priority to women in awarding tickets as they represented 50 percent of the population of the country.

Dr Enwer Sajjad, [National Assembly] NA 96, Walled city, Lahore (believed to be with the Khar faction): "I think the party should be self-accountable. It should take notice of the ministers and members who were allegedly involved in irregularities and corruption or nepotism. If the PPP had taken action against unscrupulous persons among the party, it would have been better for the credibility of the party.

"The tickets of the PPP should be given to dedicated and sincere workers. Last time, many tickets were awarded to former members of the notorious Majlis-i-Shoor. It harmed the cause of the party and its credibility as a party of the poor and the oppressed.

"If the party can make an alliance with Tehrik-i-Istiqlal of Asghar Khan, why cannot it give the old guard like Dr Mubashir Hasan, Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Ghulam Mustafa Khar, etc., their due place in the party? Our party needs experienced persons like Hafeez Pirzada, Mir Afzal and Afzal Ahsan Randhawa. With the inclusion of these people in the party, no power can cow down us. The party can become stronger."

Dr Sajjad criticised the accountability process started by the Care-taker Government. He said: "Corruption was committed by both the federal and provincial governments. Mian Nawaz Sharif and his former ministers should also be held accountable."

He said that the party should revise its programme. The political crisis prevailing in the country could be overcome only by decentralizing power from Islamabad to the provincial level and from the provinces to the district level and tehsil and taluqa levels. He said that he subscribed to the eight-point programme of Dr Mubashir Hasan which envisaged decentralization of power, reforms of the police, magistracy, administration and the Judiciary along with land reforms. He also referred to the party's "deviation" from policy on foreign issues. He said that the party should have adopted a balanced and independent foreign policy instead of leaning on one Super-Power.

Ghulam Kibriya Khan, President, People's Traders Cell, Anarkali, Lahore, said: "Workers of the party have become united, forgetting all differences. They have

worked for the party from their own resources in the past and this time too they will do so."

He was of the view that no party or group was devoid of shortcomings or black sheep. The same was the case with the PPP. But on the whole, he said, MNAs [Members of National Assembly] and ministers of the deposed PPP Government had worked for the betterment of the people, and ministers were accessible to their constituents.

He was in fact all praise for the achievements of the 20-month administration of Ms Bhutto. He said that the party had given unprecedented liberty to the media, and trade unions were allowed to work again. But the capitalists and vested interests had launched a vilification campaign against the PPP Government and attempted its character assassination. However, the workers of the party would foil all conspiracies and had reposed full confidence in the leadership of Benazir Bhutto.

Mr Kibriya Khan said that every leader of the party who had revolted against the Bhuttos or tried to form a parallel organisation had failed and his political career had come to an end. He said that those criticising the leadership of the party and fielding candidates in the name of the PPP were committing suicide.

He said that party workers had already started the PPP's campaign at the unit and ward levels. The workers were mustering all their energies to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemies of the people.

Mr Kibriya Khan said that every political party gave some privileges or concessions to its workers, and it was not a matter of embarrassment if the party had done some favours to its workers during its rule. It had served the masses, and that was important.

An activist of the People's Students Federation [PSF], who did want to be named said: "Ms Benazir Bhutto committed a blunder by taking on persons like Tariq Rahim and Ihsanul Haq Piracha in an ideological party. It was a betrayal."

He said that the people of his constituency had voted for the PPP and made it win with a big margin. But the MNA—a very important minister of Benazir Government—had ignored the people. If this time he was again awarded the party's ticket, he would lose.

Afzal Salim Sheikh, worker, NA-95, Anarkali; "Whatever Benazir Bhutto does, I feel that I'm doing it. Then what can I suggest to her?

"Workers come and go in parties. This is in the normal course of things. Some old workers have left the party and some new ones have joined us. But this time workers are more enthusiastic. They will work hard for inflicting a defeat on their opponents."

Sheikh said that if Benazir Bhutto was made to remain outside the election process, the party should boycott the polls and workers should come out on the streets. Party

workers were ready to go to jail and suffer imprisonment. When asked whether they could again face the punishment of lashes as they had done in the Zia days, he said now no ruler could dare to last them.

He said that many workers of the party were given their due respect in the party. "But keeping in view that the Punjab was ruled by our opponents, it was not practically possible to please everybody."

Amir Majeed, worker, Chauburji: "The party fielded an unsuitable candidate in the previous election from my constituency who lost to the IJI. If the party ticket is given to a suitable candidate, the party can win here. Until now, candidates appearing on the scene for party tickets do not deserve the support of workers. Workers are never consulted by the party while awarding tickets to the candidates.

"Opportunists were brought into power. These opportunists exploited the people of Pakistan. Even now, after being removed from power, Benazir Bhutto is still banking on some of these opportunists.

"When the party was in power, many workers were dissatisfied with its performance. But now the party has become the victim of injustice in the eyes of the masses and the workers have once again rallied around the Bhuttos. If the graph of the party keeps on rising like this, it will get 80 percent seats from the Punjab."

Majeed said that the elections should be contested on the basis of the class struggle. It would be the best strategy. But Ms Benazir Bhutto should avoid a confrontation with the army.

Asif Shahzad, Zone-4, NA-98, Sanda, said Benazir Bhutto had wanted to do a lot for the welfare of the people. But her own ministers had created impediments in her way. The PPP MPA of his area had not remained in touch with the workers. The representative had not bothered about the problems of the area's people, although he was among the dedicated and hard workers of the party and suffered punishment during the Zia regime.

Shahzad said: "The workers of the area will not allow the MPA to contest in the coming elections on the party ticket. He cannot win this time. We are trying our best to deprive him of the party ticket."

Shazia Shabir, Vice-President, People's Students Federation, Punjab: "At the advent of the PPP Government, I felt that it was a people's government as it consisted of some ministers who belonged to the lower strata of society. But later it was proved that I was mistaken.

She said that soon after the induction of the PPP Government, she had come to the conclusion that the Centre was being ruled by feudals and the Punjab was in the control of capitalists.

But, Shazia said, after the removal of Benazir Bhutto from the prime ministership, her popularity had risen

sharply. She said she was an ideological worker, and would work for the success of the party despite the differences she had with the leadership.

An office-bearer of the PSF, Lahore, who also wished to remain anonymous, said: "People who struggled against the martial law regime and endured torture were kept outside the Government and corrupt people had encircled Benazir Bhutto. Nobody has the right to sell out the sacrifices of thousands of workers. Benazir blocked Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khar from removing the government of thieves in the Punjab. But what has she got in return? Her removal from office."

The student said that despite all the shortcomings of the PPP, he would not leave the party at this crucial time. He alleged that ministers and even senior office-bearers of the party had patronised their own "chamchas."

Altaf Ahmad Qureshi, Additional General Secretary, Punjab PPP: "The ruling clique comprising the military and civil bureaucracy of Pakistan wants to deprive the people of their share in power. This clique has hired opportunist politicians as their stooges.

"Our party has a manifesto and fundamental guiding principles. It has neither deviated from its path nor can it think of doing so. Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was committed to the cause of bringing a revolution in the lives of the poor and destitute of the country. Benazir Bhutto too is committed to the same ideal.

"The party accepted only those landlords or industrialists who adhered to its manifesto and reposed full confidence in the leadership. The Bhutto family has become a symbol of the people's struggle against the usurpers of their rights.

"The workers of the party were always held in high esteem by Chairperson Nusrat Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto. They have been appointed office-bearers of the party. The workers were given tickets to the National and Provincial Assemblies in the 1988 election. This time the Punjab PPP has nominated the names of dedicated workers for tickets to the national and provincial assemblies.

"The PPP is recognized by the name of the Bhutto family. It cannot lose the election. After the elections, the party will emerge stronger. There is nobody who can snatch the leadership of the party away from Benazir Bhutto."

Sindh Government Criticized for 'Complacency' Over Violence

91AS0006A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
14 Sep 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Sindh Government Criticized for 'Complacency' Over Violence"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Once again Karachi has hit the headlines as the scene of a carnage which left eight dead and ten injured.

A spokesman of the Sindh government stated that disturbance started in Model Colony and Malir area on Tuesday, which was brought under control, but violence broke out again on Wednesday which proved disastrous. Since 9 September last, the number of people killed in Karachi and Hyderabad has reached 16, and those injured 32. The Sindh government spokesman was good enough to inform us that due to 'immediate' action by the provincial government, the situation came under control. Bravo! Is it not pathetic that credit should now be claimed for taking action which failed to prevent the loss of eight precious lives? The only bright aspect of the whole sordid affair is that the DC [Deputy Commissioner], DIG [Deputy Inspector General] and SSP [Senior Superintendent of Police] have been suspended for dereliction of duty.

It is, indeed, ironic that on the day news of the Karachi killings was carried by the press, a statement by the Sindh Governor to the effect that the law and order situation in the province was 'better' should also have been carried. If the present spate of killing is a betterment of the situation, what would its worse form be? Surprisingly, this is the second round of killings in Sindh which has not been attributed to the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] by the caretakers. The question which needs to be posed now is that if inability to control the law and order situation in Sindh was termed as one of the major failures of the PPP, is the performance of the caretaker set-up any better? It is most certainly not, and they should concentrate their energies on protecting the lives of innocent people instead of flinging wild accusations at political opponents.

The suspension of three senior officials of the Karachi administration should pose a warning to other dignitaries of their cadres to go about their duties more diligently and with dedication in future. Since the three suspended officers were aware of the identity of the two feuding groups before the killings took place, they should have disarmed them on the very first day. That they did not, amounts to an act of criminal negligence and shows that they were not deserving of the responsibility entrusted to them. Law and order are maintained through constant vigilance and the ability to anticipate explosive situations. It is time the fact was brought home to our senior officials of the administration that they can enjoy the privilege of their position only when they are ready to discharge the obligations which go with it. Meanwhile, the possibility of forces hostile to this country being deeply involved in the trouble in Sindh, cannot be discarded. This is an aspect to which foremost attention should be paid.

Karachi Chamber of Commerce Price Index Initiative Commended

91AS0006E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Sep 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Karachi Chamber of Commerce Price Index Initiative Commended"]

[Text] Welcome indeed is the move of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce [KCC] to prepare a price index of its own at a time of rising inflation and fear of far worse. It is far better for a private organization like the KCC to come up with an index of its own, instead of relying on the official index or rejecting it angrily. The government's inflation figures have been bordering on the comical, if they are not ludicrous. They are not accepted even by the officials outside the government's economic sector. The efforts of the Federal Bureau of Statistics [FBS] to improve them and make them more credible have failed signally over the years. Normally, one of the major economic publications ought to have come up with its own index. But all of them have been exceedingly critical of the official inflation index and none has taken the lead to fill the void. So the KCC has moved modestly to fill it. Unlike the Federal Bureau of Statistics, it is not coming up with a consumer price index of prices of 464 items in 25 cities. Instead, its index will cover 54 items, unlike also the official sensitive prices index [SPI] of the FBS which covers only 46 items. Most of the additional items, like fish, chicken, electricity, gas, apples, green chillies and *Tandoori Roti* are important consumer items. The KCC index has done well to cover them as well.

The result is a price increase of 3.55 percent within the month ending 15 August, compared to the 3.23 percent rise recorded by the official SPI. A 3.55 percent price rise within a month is a very high increase in any modern country. That is even more so in a poor country where prices are rising all the time, and particularly following the post-budget price rise. In fact, what the people are concerned with is not only the latest rise in the price index but also the cumulative price rise over a long period. The latest price rise comes over the previous price rise as we have never had a deflation in Pakistan. Higher procurement prices for agricultural products, rise in prices of administered goods and services, increase in varied indirect taxes, and the steady devaluation of the rupee have been pushing up prices steadily so much so that there has been a minimum of ten-fold increase in prices since the 1960s. The inflation figures do not make allowances for adulteration, and reduction in the weight of bread and other baked products and *Tandoori Roti*, etc. All that undermines the reliability of inflation figures in Pakistan further. Nonetheless, a non-official price index is indeed a very welcome step, and KCC needs to be commended for its initiative.